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Edward N. Calisch

"The Jew in

English literature."

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THE JEW
IN
ENGLISH
LITERATURE

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THE JEW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

EDWARD N. CALISCH

THE JEW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE,

AS AUTHOR AND AS SUBJECT.

BY

RABBI EDWARD N. CALISCH,

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

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TO MY WIFE,

WHOSE CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT AND LOVING

SELF-SACRIFICE MADE IT POSSIBLE,

THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

There is no one, perhaps, who realizes the possible limitations of this work more than the writer. I freely confess that, when I undertook it, I had no adequate conception of the vastness of its scope, or of the fertility of the ground I sought to cover. Why I did undertake it, or indeed why at all an American Rabbi, fully occupied with his professional duties, and in a city of limited library facilities, should have attempted to cover this phase of English literature, with the Atlantic Ocean between him and the source of his material, is a question apart. The attempt has been made, and if it will but somewhat open the eyes of others to the no small part the Jews have taken, both subjectively and objectively, in English literature, the attempt is not in vain.

The work is a pioneer of its kind. There have been some essays in this direction, one of the best being an article on "The Jew in Poetry and Drama," by Charles B. Mabon, in Vol. XI. of the Jewish Quarterly Review. But there is no work of any length that has come to my knowledge, and none at all that deals with Jewish authors. Dr. David Philipson's work, "The Jew in

English Fiction," covers but one phase of the subject, and only a limited portion of that phase. The two volumes, "Jews of Angevin England," by Dr. Joseph Jacobs, and "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica," by Lucien Wolf and Joseph Jacobs, are historical only in purpose and scope. Yet they are rich in material for literary research, and I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to them. Especially to Dr. Jacobs are my obligations profound. His work was my constant guide in the pre-Elizabethan era, and without it I would have missed much that belongs to that period. His great knowledge of the subject and his courtesy in responding to demands upon his time are also gratefully appreciated. My thanks are also due to Mr. Israel Abrahams and the Rev. Morris Joseph for valuable suggestions and corrections.

E. N. C.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY 11

CHAPTER II.

THE JEWS IN ENGLAND..... 33

CHAPTER III.

THE PRE-ELIZABETHAN PERIOD..... 49

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELIZABETHAN ERA..... 61

CHAPTER V.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY..... 86

CHAPTER VI.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY..... 101

CHAPTER VII.

FROM EIGHTEEN HUNDRED TO DATE..... 117

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1800 TO DATE—(*Continued*)

JEWISH LITERARY ACTIVITY..... 152

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF NON-JEWISH AUTHORS..... 199

A LIST OF JEWISH AUTHORS..... 222

INDEX 267

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The Jew in English Literature.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

Obviously the first care in an effort such as this is to define its limits. In all manner of art it is difficult to draw hard and fast lines of demarcation. In literature, as in music and the plastic arts, the various schools, periods and tendencies merge gradually into each other. The exact point of the departure of the one or the advent of the other is not definitely determinable. Most divisions are arbitrary, yet there is sound reason for them. Thus in this consideration of the Jew in English literature as author and as subject, the writer has determined on a number of limitations, which, though they may appear to be arbitrarily placed, yet he trusts are not without sound reason. The scope of the subject and the method of treatment have been determined with the view to bring out the purpose of the work, viz., to show, on the one hand, what has been the attitude of the British nation, as expressed by its writers, toward the Jews at various periods of their common history, what influence the Jews have thus unconsciously had upon its literature; and on the other hand, what influence they have consciously exercised

by their own contributions to this literature. An element of national life that can add to the Canterbury Tales, that can give a "Shylock" and a "Sheva" to the stage, a "Rebecca," a "Fagin" and a "Deronda" to fiction, and innumerable impulses to poetic flight, is no slight one. A community that in scarce more than a generation can produce an Aguilar, a Beaconsfield, a Zangwill, a Lee, a Gollancz, a Jacobs, and an Abrahams, not to mention a host of lesser lights, is to be reckoned with.

Ordinarily, a literature is co-extensive with the language in which it is written. Speaking broadly, German literature comprises that which is written in the German language, as French literature that which is written in the French language. In the present instance, however, English literature is not to be considered co-extensive with the English language. The first limitation is in the phrase "English literature," the qualifying adjective refers to a national and not a lingual differentiation. The literature of America, though it is English in tongue, is not considered. Secondly, the qualification while national is not political. The literary productions of the vast provinces and numerous dependencies of the British Empire are not included. The material is confined to that which has been put forth by the English people themselves, whether it be non-Jewish writers, whose treatment of Jews or Jewish themes is considered, or Jewish writers, whose contributions to the store-house of literary treasures are reviewed. Even thus restricted, there is no lack of quantity, for the people who have created an empire on whose flag the sun never sets, have produced

a literature whose wealth in worth and size is second to none.

The next elimination is that of the Bible. An examination of Jewish influence on English literature as given through the Bible would mean an exhaustive study of the whole range of literary effort in England. There is no writer who does not give evidence of his debt to the Bible, even though he may have but the most modest acquaintance with its contents. "The English mind was quick to appreciate the beauty of Hebrew thought and speech," says Dr. Wm. Rosenau,[1] "and hence, almost from the very beginning, adopted these as models. This is certainly noticeable to a marked degree in some of our early literary monuments still in existence, which were naught but paraphrases of events and characters described in the Bible. The retention of Biblical speech was in every instance believed to lend dignity to the subject under consideration. And Biblical sentiments were incorporated in great numbers in almost every work produced." Addison[2] gives testimony to the fluent ease with which Hebrew thought and phraseology are caught up in the English. He said, "There is a certain coldness and indifference in the phrases of our European languages, when they are compared with Oriental forms of speech; and it happens very luckily that the Hebrew idiom runs into the English tongue with a particular grace and beauty. Our language has received innumerable elegancies and improvements from that infusion of Hebraisms which

[1] "Hebraisms in the Authorized Version of the Bible." Baltimore 1903, p. 47.

[2] "Spectator." No. 405.

are derived to it out of the poetical passages of Holy Writ. They give a force and energy to our expressions, warm and animate our language, and convey our thoughts in more ardent and intense phrases, than any that are to be met with in our own tongue."

But Addison did not go deep enough to learn why "the Hebrew idioms run into the English tongue with particular grace and beauty." There is a psychological background of which the kinship of phrase is but an outward expression. The Bible was not merely translated from a different tongue, from Hebrew, Greek or Latin, into the English language. Its thoughts and sentiments were translated as well into the heart and soul of the English people. A modern writer[1] has stated this fact very clearly. "The Hebrews have determined our literature more than all other influences combined," he says; "the English heart and mind are now partly made of Hebrew thought and ideals. To other literatures we have looked for models to imitate and notions to borrow, to the Biblical literature we have looked for a transfusion of all our thinking." This we might call a moral influence. Dr. Tucker adds, "But there is also a purely literary effect of the Bible. . . . Who can estimate the immense extent to which Biblical imagery and Biblical phrase—what we may call Biblical style and Hebrew style—have determined the style of English writers? It is true that the language of the Authorized Version is English, not Hebrew. None the less, the imagery, the similes and metaphors, the fiery turns of exhortation and denunciation, the fervent question and

[1] Dr. T. G. Tucker, "The Foreign Debt of English Literature," Lon. 1907, pp. 253-7.

apostrophe, all these and other elements which make up style are, apart from the rhythm, Hebrew, not English. And it is to these things we refer when we speak of the purely literary effect of the Bible on our writers. The diction of every English writer has been dominated by Hebrew phrases and figures of speech, which mix themselves with his thoughts as he shapes the words and images of his English prose or verse."

The prevalence of this influence is the more remarkable when we recall that England was behind the continent in the study of the Hebrew language. "Early England offers almost a blank in the field of Hebrew literature." [1] Roger Bacon was the first scholar of prominence to undertake its study. To him it was the language in which God had revealed Himself. He objected to translations, because translations cannot do justice to the original. That which is sublime in one tongue too often approaches the ridiculous when given in another. It is a peculiar strength of the Bible that it is an exception to this general experience, and its beauty survives even imperfect translation. The translations of the Bible in various tongues have had a most far-reaching influence upon these several languages and their respective literatures. But in none more so than in the English. Its influence here is spiritual more than material. Mr. Israel Abrahams well says,[2] "There were no Jews round the table of King James I.'s compilers of the Authorized Version, but David Kimchi

[1] Dr. S. A. Hirsh, "Early English Hebraists," in a "Book of Essays," p. 15.

[2] Introduction to "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages." p. XIX.

was present in spirit. The influence of his Commentary on the Bible is evident on every page of that noble translation."

The modern literary world is beginning to recognize this indebtedness to the Bible, not merely to the form and phrase that are reproduced, but to the deeper-lying and more effective spirit that permeates the range of English thought. Art and morality are not necessarily incompatible. The novel of passion and the problem play are not true representatives of the culture which bespeaks a noble civilization. No more is an uncompromising spirit of rigid morality that would shear Pegasus of his wings, clothe the muses in the garb of nuns and turn the pierian spring into a baptismal font. The Hellenic and the Hebraic spirit are not antipodes, they are in reality supplementary to each other. Their judicious admixture would have saved genius from much of its ethical eccentricities and theology much of its narrowness. "It is in the confluence of the Hellenic stream of thought with the waters that flow from Hebrew sources that the main direction of the world's progress is to be sought." [1] This confluence is noticeable in the life and thought of the English people. Whether consciously or not, they have made the adjustment between culture and religion and found the marriage a congenial one. It is true that different epochs may have swung the pendulum too far in either direction, but even during the excesses of a reign of riotous broadness, that extended from Elizabeth to Charles, a Shakespeare strikes the note of universal justice in a

[1] Prof. Butcher, "Aspects of the Greek Genius."

"Lear," a "Macbeth" and a "Richard III.," or devotes a "Hamlet" to the study of the world-problems of sin and suffering, while on the other hand, the glory of a "Paradise Lost" shines through the drab soberness of a Puritanic period. During a century wherein the looseness of Smollet and Fielding seemed to prevail, Pope writes an "Essay on Man," and sturdy Samuel Johnson dominates his contemporaries by sheer force of moral character. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is perhaps the noblest poem of the first half of the nineteenth century, because it is in itself a most happy combination of Hellenic charm and Hebraic strength; as Kipling's "Recessional" was perhaps the most popular poem of the latter end of the century, because it is so thoroughly Hebraic in tone. There is more than a touch of the old prophetic spirit in the simple dignity of the lines, in the vision that sees "the captains and the kings depart," in the prayer that asks that reverence and humility

> "Be with us yet,
> Lest we forget; lest we forget."

The influence of the Bible [1] on English literature is simply incalculable. It is the Jew's noblest contribution. Yet it will not be considered, nor such productions that are intimately related with it, such as works of commentary, exposition, criticism, Palestinean

[1] The word Bible, as here used, includes both the Old and the New Testaments, as is also the phrase "Hebraic Spirit," intended to be connected with the writers of both books. For the authors of the New Testament were Hebrews, and the Gospels in their native simplicity, beneath the accumulation of theological interpretations and doctrines which the later fathers of the church laid upon them, are Hebraic in spirit, ethics and form.

travel, and exploration. Consideration is given to pure literature only as far as practicable. Philosophy, ethics, theology, homiletics, scientific and technical productions, all efforts that may not be classed in the realm of *belles lettres,* are eliminated. These works of non-Jewish authors have no reason to possess what might be called a Jewish literary interest. Attention is given mainly to poetry, fiction and the drama. History, travel, essays and criticism are included, because in some periods these form the main avenues of expression for the national mental attitude. In the earlier periods, before the Elizabethan era, aside from some ballads and the mystery plays, references to Jews are found as a rule in historical writings only. Even in later periods where the attitude of the nation is most plainly to be discovered in historical productions, as in Coryat's "Crudities," or Dr. Tovey's "Anglia-Judaica," or where a Milman devotes a noble volume to the history of the Jewish people, these are referred to. Political writings and periodical literature are considered when they display popular sentiment or temper, relevant to the topic in hand.

Somewhat larger exception is made in the consideration of the works of Jewish authors. While books of travel, history, criticism, and of technical and scientific nature, do not usually find place in a review of literature, yet productions of this character by Jewish writers are referred to, as they are believed to be legitimate to the purpose of the work.

The division into chapters does not accord with the usual divisions made in English literature. It was found best, after the Elizabethan era, to follow the arbi-

trary lines of chronology and to devote a chapter to each century, irrespective of schools or minor epochs. History and literature are inextricably woven together, and it will be found that a great deal of the matter of this work clusters around certain historical incidents. For this reason a chapter on the history of the Jews in England is given.

A survey of the millenium of English literature will disclose two general facts; first, that a broad line of demarcation is drawn between the Jews of the time prior to the advent of Jesus of Nazareth and those since that event, and secondly, that the treatment accorded the Jews of the latter period has been, up to within very recent years, uniformly antagonistic. The Church early placed its ban upon the Jews, and the attitude of the Church was the attitude of its followers. The earliest writers were from the clergy. The monks were the first chroniclers and dramatists. With them the exaltation of the Church was paramount. The Old Testament is the foundation of the Church. Its people were the kinsmen of the Saviour. Its prophets were his harbingers. They therefore spoke and wrote of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David and Isaiah with the same veneration they accorded the gospel writers and teachers. But the refusal of the Jews of his own generation to accept Jesus, their participation in the tragedy of the Crucifixion and the Passion, changed completely their position and condition. Though generally true, this is most obvious in the mystery plays and the early religious dramas. These plays deal with Biblical episodes and religious themes. When they describe incidents of the Old Testament, the Jews concerned therein are handled

as ordinary human beings. When the Old Testament is passed, and the theme or episode has to do with the New, or with any of the Church teachings or traditions, there is no accusation too horrible, no charge too monstrous to prevent its being given credence and repetition.

The persecutions by the nations of Europe are faithfully reflected in their several literatures. Though today the condition of English Jews is among the happiest, yet England has the unenviable distinction of having given the first impulse, among Christian nations, to the falsehood that the Jews engaged in ritual murder, and of having been among the first to decree wholesale expulsion of them from her borders. The earliest English writers narrate the unhappy tragedies that befell the Jews, without one trace of feeling for them. The later writers re-enforce and spread slanders uttered against them without one scruple of conscience. William of Newbury tells of the massacre of York with not a word of sympathy for the unfortunate victims. Mathew Paris recounts the incident of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln without question of its credibility. John Speed says that the coronation of Richard I. was "auspicated" by the massacre of the "enemies of Christ." Chaucer devotes one of the Canterbury Tales to a repetition of the charge of ritual-murder. There is no villainy which Marlowe makes impossible for Barabas. The very genius of Shakespeare has given the widest currency to the false characterization of the Jew as a sordid and merciless usurer. Ralph Holinshed said that the bringing over of the Jews was one of the

"grievances which the English sustained by the hard dealings of the Conqueror."

Even when a slowly developing enlightenment rendered these gross superstitions no longer tenable, the animus against the Jew found vent in other directions. Especially is it discernible in the literature of the political contests which were waged during various centuries in England. The bitterness with which William Prynne opposed the movement for their resettlement in the seventeenth century is a specimen of the feeling against them. It is true that Prynne, he of Histriomastix and sliced-ears fame, was a man of unbridled tongue, or pen. Yet he may be taken as representative. He may have been more bitter than the average, simply because he had the greater gift of invective. I doubt not others felt as strongly as he wrote. The outpour of abuse that greeted the passage of the Pelhams' "Jew Bill" of 1753, was so great that the bill had to be repealed.

There are certain conventions in literature. One of these is to present the Jew as a villain, or at least an unlovable character, and to place in his mouth objectionable sentiments. Maria Edgeworth acknowledges this fact in her novel, "Harrington." [1]

> "In every work of fiction I found the Jews represented as hateful beings; nay, even in modern tales of very late years. Since I have come to man's estate I have met with books by authors professing candour and toleration, and even in these, wherever the Jews are introduced, I find they are

[1] Quoted by P. Abraham, "Curiosities of Judaism, p. 209.

invariably represented as beings of a mean, avaricious, unprincipled, treacherous character."

Cumberland puts similar sentiments into the mouth of Sheva in "The Jew." [1]

> "We have no abiding place on earth, no country, no home; everybody rails at us, everybody flouts us, everybody points us out for their may-game and their mockery. If your playwriters want a butt or a buffoon, or a knave to make sport of, out comes a Jew to be baited and buffeted through five long acts for the amusement of all good Christians."

Happily this particular convention is weakening, though it is still far from disappearing. Aside from those who espoused their cause during the political contests, the first notable champion of the Jews was this same Richard Cumberland, in this play of "The Jew," at the end of the eighteenth century. It is a conscious defense of the Jew, and a noble attempt to put him in a favorable light. Since then in fiction and drama some splendid Jewish figures have been created. The Rebecca of "Ivanhoe," and the Mordecai of "Daniel Deronda" have done much to atone for previous wrongs. It is, however, in keeping with the pathos of Jewish history that these kindly representations are not as widely known as the unfavorable ones, and, when known, do not create the same impression. For the latter are taken as natural and typical, the former as exceptional and indefensible. Put Barabas and Shy-

[1] Ibid.

lock and Fagin in one scale and Sheva and Rebecca and Mordecai in the other, and which tip the balance in popular acceptance? Surely "the evil men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones."

In other fields of literary effort the Jew, especially in England, is receiving ever kinder notice. The treatment accorded him is a barometer of civilization. The diffusion of liberal principles in government, the growing spirit of humanitarianism and of freedom that characterized the last century found their reflex in the century's literature. The weakening of the power of dogmatic theology lightened somewhat the load that the medieval church had left as a legacy of the days of its dominion. Superstitious calumnies died out. The removal of political disabilities brought the Jews in closer contact with their fellow-citizens. Clearer knowledge dispelled much of the misty prejudice which ignorance begot. There are evidenced a more dispassionate calmness in judgment, and a greater desire to give credit for strong and noble traits, even though weaknesses are not blinked. The wonderful devotion of the Jews to their religion, and their unflinching loyalty in the face of centuries of fearful persecution are being recognized. Writers of history are learning to appreciate the value of the great services which the Jews have rendered the cause of human progress, in spite of the handicap of their enforced isolation and segregation. The entrance of the Jews themselves in no mean manner into the various realms of literary effort aided the growing sense of kindness and justice toward them. The noble utterances of Macaulay, Hazlitt, Richard Grant, Lord John Russell, Gladstone and Dr. Whately in political mat-

ters were echoed in other forms. Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron and Browning could find themes of noble dignity in things Jewish. Amberly, Hallam, Draper, and Lecky can recognize the significant and by no means ignoble part that the Jews have played on the stage of human development.

The entrance of Jews as authors into English literature was not really made until the latter part of the eighteenth century. It is not that they did not write, but they did not write in English. Compelled to live a life apart from their neighbors and fellow-citizens, denied participation in the activities of national life, its progress, culture and development, it is not to be expected that they could shine as its interpreters. Shut in within themselves, their literary ambition spent itself with that around which their life centered. This was their religion, its doctrines, worship, feasts, fasts and observances. They were, in more senses than one, "the people of the Book." The "Book," its laws and doctrines, its language, interpretation and commentary, filled all their thoughts. The literature of the Jews, prior to the nineteenth century, is overwhelmingly religious. It will be noticed that the Jewish authors of the pre-Elizabethan era have actually no place in English literature. Their productions both in language and subject are not English. The writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of those who wielded their pens in political controversy, are subject to the same criticism.

That their non-participation in the life of the nation was the cause of this is evidenced by the fact that whenever the restrictive pressure was removed

from them they at once, almost at a bound, became generous and worthy contributors to the treasury of national literature. During the Moorish occupation of Spain, they were treated with justice and were placed on an equal footing with others in civic and religious rights. The result is a flowering of Jewish genius which has no parallel in all the centuries of the Christian era up to the nineteenth. It has been well styled the "Golden Age" of Jewish literature. Poetry, science, philosophy, art, fiction and drama found noble expression. The names of Moses ben Maimon, Jehuda Halevi, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses and Abraham Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi form a constellation that blazes brilliantly even through the distance of flown centuries. Its influence spread beyond Iberian boundaries and was felt even after the Inquisition had laid its chill fingers of death upon Jewish life in Spain. Süsskind of Trimberg was a German Jewish Minnesinger who won the "plaudits of knights of high degree and their dames." [1] Rabbi Don Santob, of Carrion, was a renowned Spanish troubadour, whose poems were not confined to love songs only, but whose serious compositions rank him among the most celebrated poets [2] of Spain. "Three of the most important works of Spanish literature are the products of Jewish authorship." [3] The first "Chronicle of the Cid," the oldest of this oft-repeated and much used biography, was composed by a Moorish Jew, Ibn

[1] I. Abrahams, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," p. 361.

[2] See Gustave Karpeles, "Jewish Literature and Other Essays," p. 173.

[3] Ibid, p. 171.

Alfange. Valentin Baruch, of Toledo, is the author of the romance, "Comte Lyonnais, Palanus," the foundation source of much material for tragedies, and Moses Sephardi (Petrus Alphonsus) wrote "Disciplina Clericalis," the first and model collection of Oriental tales. Even as late as the sixteenth century we come across two Jewish Portuguese writers of renown, Samuel Usque, a dramatic poet of great power, and Antonio Enriques Gomez, whose comedies were received with much applause in Madrid, but who was compelled to flee his native land because of the Inquisition.

A similar phenomenon is to be witnessed among the Jews of England. The American and French Revolutions unquestionably had their influence upon the English people. The humanistic impulse evident in the literature of Germany during that splendid period of the closing decades of the eighteenth and the opening decades of the nineteenth centuries, was felt in the intellectual atmosphere of England. Not only did it become evident in English literature itself, in the breaking away from the confining classicism that marked the passing century, but it became manifest in the government. A wave of liberalizing reform swept over the land. It carried the fortunes of the Jews with it. Beginning with small concessions of rights, they won their complete civic emancipation. The removal of the ban against them gave birth to an active participation in national life, whose results are as creditable to the Jews, as they are condemnatory of the policy that had made them hitherto impossible. In literature these results, in wealth and worth, are amazing. A glance at the list of Jewish authors from eighteen hundred to the

present day discloses a remarkable richness in variety, numbers and quality. The present generation of English Jews is distinguished by a number of authors, poets, novelists, dramatists, critics, essayists, journalists and scholars, many of whose names will doubtless be added to that glorious scroll of England's nobly famous, at whose head is the immortal bard of Avon.

The Jews have never been accused of intellectual weakness. Nor have they ever lacked imaginative power. Their mental vigor has been strengthened by the conditions of their life. Their history for the first eighteen hundred years of the Christian era is that of a struggle for existence, in which mentality was matched against brute strength. The world at large deemed that this mental vigor had degenerated into a commercial cunning, whose highest expression was in a "business instinct" that won material success, that their imaginative faculty had been similarly deadened by the daily grind of their sordid life, that the Jews had neither talent nor liking for the nobler, creative life in the arts or in literature, because these brought no rich material returns. But the world utterly misjudged and mistook the Jew. True, the Jews do not appear numerously in the literature of the nations of Europe previous to the nineteenth century. That is because the Jew is only human. The literature of a nation is the expression of its life and ideals, the outpouring of its national soul. The Jews were not permitted to be a part of a nation. Shut out from its national culture, the Jew could not give expression to it. He could, however, appreciate it. And he did. He made it his own in so far as he could. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and Germany

many of the literary classics were reproduced in Hebrew. This is likewise true of England. It came much later, however, than on the continent, though it has been said that a Hebrew version of the Arthurian cycle appeared as early as the thirteenth century.[1] There are to-day many translations of English masterpieces into Hebrew, among them "Othello," "Romeo and Juliet," and "Macbeth"; Cumberland's "The Jew," "Paradise Lost," and "Samson Agonistes," "The Pilgrim's Progress," and, recently, Fitzgerald's "Omar Khayyam" was done into Hebrew.

One of the pathetic things in connection with a review of the Jew in English literature is the fact of the passing over of some of the most brilliant minds from Judaism to Christianity. It is pathetic because rarely, if ever, is it done through conviction. Occasionally it results from a quarrel with the Synagogue authorities, more often it is from a desire for wider opportunities. Benjamin D'Israeli was baptized at the suggestion of the poet Rogers, who saw that the lad was precocious and wanted him to have a chance to rise. Tennyson, broad and generous as he was, still could sing of him as one,

> "Who breaks his birth's individious bar,
> And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
> And breasts the blows of circumstance,
> And grapples with his evil star:

[1] "Jewish Literature and Other Essays," G. Karpeles, p. 87. See also "Jewish Sources of Early English Romances," by Dr. M. Gaster, in "Papers of Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition." Lon. 1887.

Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mould a mighty state's decrees
And shape the whisper of a throne."

Even to Tennyson, his birth was "an invidious bar," and one does not stop to wonder whether D'Israeli would ever have been made Premier of England, had he remained a member of the synagogue. It has been claimed that it is a reflection upon Judaism that these conversions occur. In reality, it is a reflection upon the civilization that compels them. The conversions are not remarkable for number, but they are striking by reason of their contrast with the great mass of the faithful. The Jews, as a class, have not only resisted the pressure of physical persecution, but they have borne the greater burden of scorn and ridicule. Their faith was evidenced not only in their adherence to religious duties and observances, but it was manifest as well in the large volume of distinctively Jewish literature which they have produced; Jewish, not in the limited sense of pertaining only to the synagogue, its theology, doctrines, or ritual, but in the wider connotation of things of Jewish life, its character, conditions, hopes, ideals. Practically every Jewish novelist from Aguilar to Zangwill has written what may be termed Jewish novels. Poets, dramatists, essayists, historians and journalists have used their talent in defense or description of their people.

It is to be observed that a strain of sadness is often found in the works of Jewish writers. It is not surprising when the history of the Jews is recalled. The suffering and martyrdom, which were their constant

portion for centuries, though bravely and faithfully endured, could not but leave their impress. The life of the Jews was a perpetual tragedy, and in keeping with it the minor note is often struck upon the lyre of their literature. Yet their sadness is not one of despair. There is a deep, strong current of an optimistic patience, of a brave acceptance of their lot, together with an abiding faith in the eventual lifting of the load, and the achievement of freedom and peace.

The treatment accorded the Jew in English literature is a tribute to his persistence and his indestructible faith. That any people should have survived such a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation, and survived it without utter degradation and loss of self-respect, is little short of a miracle. Yet not only has the Jew done so, but he has survived it, strong enough in mind and spirit to take high place in that very literature, within less than one century after the doors of national life had been opened to him. There were several causes that helped to stimulate literary effort, in addition to this feeling of national consciousness. The Anglo-Jewish Exhibition of 1887 gave to the Jews themselves, as well as to the world at large, a new idea of their own power and position. It was an inspiration to much historical and literary activity. The "Union of Jewish Literary Societies," formed in 1902, is a recent movement that has given impetus to literary research and effort among the Jews, that though designed originally for Jewish topics, has broadened out into the fields of general literature.

Yet, again let it be said, the Jew has always had place in English literature. The cosmopolitan char-

acter of the Jew, and his international activities have in more ways than one been the means of human progress. As the Crusaders brought the east and west into commercial relationship, so it was the Arabs and the Jews, who made the scholarship and science of the Orient accessible to Occidental nations. Wherever the Jew went he brought with him an atmosphere of the larger world. England in her "splendid isolation," was kept in touch with continental culture, especially in the earlier centuries, through the Jews. They were the medium of communication. The Gesta Romanorum, the story book of the middle ages, "might almost have been called the Gesta Judaeorum," says Dr. Joseph Jacobs.[1] Many of the earlier English tales and dramas were drawn from Spanish sources, and, as has been noted, the three most important of these Spanish sources were composed by Jews. In addition to this there is that intangible yet ever present spiritual influence. English national ideals are so permeated with the Jewish spirit, that one sometimes hesitates to deny the Anglo-Israel claim that after all the English are the Lost Ten Tribes. The moral sense is basic to Jewish aspiration. It is revealed in their own literature in the unique distinction that its noblest utterances are concerned with the great problems of life and Deity. There are no epics of human heroes. The one hero is always God. In other literatures the epics are concerned with human heroes, or at best with heroes who are gods or demi-gods. In English literature, Milton's "Paradise Lost," confessedly its greatest epic poem, is thoroughly Hebraic

[1] "Jewish Ideals and Other Essays," p. 142.

in tone and spirit. The earnestness and seriousness, the optimism and hopefulness, the belief in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice in the face of the seemingly overwhelming power of evil, which characterize the best productions of English literature, are traceable to the influence of Hebraic ideals, transmuted into the soul of the English people. This may seem to be a large claim. The writer believes that it is a just one.

CHAPTER II.

The Jews in England.

The greater part of the literature in which, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jew appeared as author or as subject, centered about certain incidents which took place in the history of the Jews in England. These incidents are not commonly known to the average reader. They are therefore here set forth in order that the literary activities, which arose from them, may be better understood. For this reason also the several episodes are given in greater detail than historical perspective would perhaps otherwise warrant. No references are made in this chapter to this literature. These have been reserved for the chapters covering the respective periods.

The Pre-Expulsion Period, 1066-1290.

The Jews came to England with William the Conqueror. They may have made flying trips to Britain in earlier days,[1] as followers of Roman camps or as traders from Gaul, but there is no evidence of their having made any permanent settlement. The Norman king brought them over as a "financial experiment rendered necessary by the policy of the Church toward usury, but which became impossible owing to its costly character, and the rise of religious feeling due to the Crusades and the

[1] Rev. M. Margoliouth, "Hist. of the Jews in Great Britaine," Lon. 1846, contends that Jews were in England prior to 1066.

Friars."[1] William was a thrifty monarch, who well understood how to make the coffers of the king the ultimate reservoir into which the streams of the revenue ran from different directions. He brought the Jews over to help him finance his British conquest. The institution of the Domesday book made it clear that it was William's policy to have his feudal dues paid to the royal treasury in coin rather than in kind. For this purpose it was necessary to have a body of men scattered throughout the country, who would supply the coin. He also made the Jews pay for the privilege of serving him.[2]

The several uprisings in the west and north, which demanded his return from Normandy and his further attention, together with the rebellion of his own son Robert, prevented the fulfilment of his economic plans. But the Jews had come over and settled unobtrusively, mostly in London. Numbers, however, scattered to the towns north and east. They settled very early in Ox-

[1] J. A. E. Introd. p. IX.

[2] "Antonius in his Chronicles records that William, the Conqeror, King of England, translated the Jews from Rhoan to London, and the Madgeburg Centuries out of him (Cent. 11 Cap. 14, Col. 686) adde thereto that it was Ob Nuneratum Precium, for a sum of money given to him by them (which I find not in Antonious). Both these Authors intimate that this was the first arrival in England, yet in what year of this King that are silent. With them concurs Ralph Holinshed, Vol. 3, p. 15, where he writes: 'Among other grievances which the English sustained by the hard dealings of the Conqueror, this is to be remembered, that he brought the Jews into the land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupy.'" "A short Demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued Remitter in England, etc." By Wm. Prynne, Lon. 1656, p. 2.

ford [1] and the site of the present Magdalen College, of Oxford University, was once a Jewish cemetery. Owing to the failure of William's plans, the status of the Jews remained for some time undetermined. Henry I., upon his election, endeavored to win the good will of the people by issuing a charter of promises to the nation, wherein he bound himself to "abide by the laws of Edward the Confessor." A charter was likewise issued to the Jews, to Rabbi Josce, or Joseph, the chief Jew of London, and all his followers, under which they were allowed to move about in the country, together with their chattels, as if these were the king's property (*sicut res propriae nostrae*).[2]

But they did not fare as well under Stephen. They suffered severely under the reign of lawlessness,[3] that characterized his occupancy of the throne, both at the hands of the sovereign and his subjects. It was during this reign that the first recorded blood accusation against the Jews was brought, in the case of William of Norwich, 1144. The Jews of Norwich were accused of having "bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and afterwards buried him. They thought it would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr." There were many absurdities and impossibilities connected with the details of the story, but it served to inflame hatred against the Jews, and to benefit the monasteries which were so fortunate as to become the shrines of this or other similar "martyrs."

[1] "History of Oxford," Wood.

[2] Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. V, p. 162.

[3] See Oman's History of England, pp. 95-6.

The effect of the Crusades and their incidental preaching during the twelfth century was visible on the continent by renewed persecutions of the Jews, and it was not long before the wave of passion swept into England. The story of the martyrdom of William of Norwich was followed by similar incidents at Gloucester, 1168, and at Bury St. Edmunds, 1181. With each incident the position of the Jews became more precarious. It is true that the hand of Henry II. was stretched over them in protection. But this protection was a costly affair. When in 1186, for his crusade against Saladin, he demanded a tithe from the rest of his subjects, from the Jews he demanded one-quarter of their chattels. It was estimated that while all the rest of the people were asked to give seventy thousand pounds, the Jews were mulcted to the sum of sixty thousand pounds. Yet the Jews managed to live outwardly on tolerable terms with their neighbors, until the latter part of Henry's reign, when the rising tide of the Crusading spirit, together with the incident that two Cistercian monks became converted to Judaism, caused an eruption of violence that took shape in a massacre of the Jews at the coronation of Richard I. in 1189.

It is claimed that the massacre occurred through a mistake, but it took place none the less.[1] A number of representative Jews had presented themselves at Westminster to do homage to the new king and bring him presents.

[1] The coronation of Richard I. was "hanselled and auspicated with the blood of many Jewes (though utterly against the King's will), who in a tumult raised by the Ocean (multitude) were furiously murthered." History of Great Britaine, etc. By John Speed, 3rd Ed. London, 1650, p. 483.

But the crowd was incensed that these "enemies of Christ" should be present during so holy a ceremony, and the Jews were repulsed from the banquet that followed the coronation at the chapel. A rumor was spread that the King had ordered this repulse. The crowd needed nothing more in the way of incentive. The mob surged to Old Jewry, set fire to homes of the Jews and killed those who attempted to escape. The King was angered at this insult to his dignity but took no effective steps to punish the leaders. The contagion of hate and lawlessness spread, and as soon as Richard left to go on his crusade, massacres took place at Lynn, Stamford, Bury St. Edmunds, Lincoln and York. At York the Jews asked protection of the warden of the King's castle, and he placed them in Clifford Tower. The warden had occasion to leave the tower, and when he returned, the Jews, through a mistake, or in a panic of fear, refused him admittance. He called upon the local militia to recover the tower. Led by one Richard Malebys, who was deeply in debt to the Jews, the tower was besieged. The rage of the mob increased with each hour of resistance, and the imprisoned Jews saw no alternative but starvation or surrender. Their religious head urged them to slay themselves rather than accept either alternative. Following his counsel, most of them, slaying first their wives and children, put themselves to death, rather than seek clemency from their enemies. Those who did the latter fared no better, for when they surrendered to the mob, the leaders thereof, "speaking fair words to them deceitfully, and promising them the wished-for grace with testimony of the faith so that they should not fear to come out, as soon as they did so, they

seized them as enemies, and though they demanded the baptism of Christ, those cruel butchers destroyed them."[1]

These massacres took place in the years 1189 and 1190, and mark the end of the tolerable position of the Jews of England before the fourteenth century. From this date, though they managed to exist, their condition grew continually worse. King John used them merely as a sponge, permitting them to gather wealth, then squeezing it from them when he wanted it. It was he who ordered that a tooth should be drawn each day from the mouth of a certain Jew (Abraham of Bristol), until the latter expressed his willingness to pay his quota, ten thousand of the sixty-six thousand marks, which John had assessed against the Jews. During the reign of Henry III., Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced into England the Jew-badge, invented by Innocent III. The Jews sought to evade this disgrace by leaving the land altogether, but by order of the King no Jew was allowed to leave without the King's permission. It was during Henry's reign also that there occurred the tragic episode of the martyrdom of little St. Hugh of Lincoln. In the month of August, 1255, a little lad, eight years of age, disappeared in the city of Lincoln. The probable facts of the case that may be evolved from the mass of traditional and historical accounts of it, are as follows.[2] The little boy Hugh, the child of a

[1] From the account of William of Newbury, quoted, J. A. E., p. 128.

[2] The story as given here is taken from Dr. Joseph Jacob's essay on Little St. Hugh of Lincoln, pp. 192-224, in "Jewish Ideals and other Essays." Lon. 1896. Dr. Jacobs made a scholarly and exhaustive study of the incident.

widow Beatrice, while running after a ball in play, fell by accident into a cesspool in the yard of a Jew's house. The body remained undiscovered for twenty-six days. Meanwhile there had assembled at Lincoln a large number of Jews from other places, to attend the marriage of the daughter of the Chief Rabbi of Lincoln, a prominent and widely-known Jewish scholar of that generation. On the day after the wedding, before the guests had dispersed to their homes, to their great horror, the body of the child was discovered, having risen to the surface of the pool. In the panic of their fear the Jews made the mistake of attempting to dispose of the body in another neighborhood, instead of announcing it to the proper authorities. After three days the body was again discovered by a woman passing.

Upon its discovery, that which the Jews dreaded came to pass. They were accused of having murdered the child for ritual purposes. The accusation was fathered by one John of Lexington, a canon of the Lincoln cathedral, who appreciated the advantage to the cathedral of having possession of the body of the "martyr." In an imposing procession the body, having been placed in a stone coffin, was interred in the South Aisle Choir of the Cathedral.

Meanwhile, the accusation against the Jews spread like wild fire. Henry III. was on his way to Lincoln from Scotland. The case was laid before him. He was not slow to see his opportunity. He had a few months before that sold the Jews to his brother Richard of Cornwall for a cash consideration. But here was his chance to squeeze them till their blood ran as ducats into his treasury and their grief was coined into counters for

royal usage. The assemblage of Jews at Lincoln lent color to the charge that they had come together as representatives of all English Jewry to perform the deed. So all the Jews were held responsible. Those who "refused to trust themselves to the tender mercies of a Christian jury" were hanged, and many more were imprisoned, until at the end of six months, the agreement with Richard having then expired, they were permitted to purchase their freedom by paying enormous fines.

When Simon de Montfort rose to power, after the battle of Lewes, he abrogated all indebtedness of Christians to Jews. The antagonistic attitude of the Church toward "usury" [1] was reaffirmed with increased emphasis. In 1274 the "Statutum de Judaismo," was promulgated. By this the Jews were altogether forbidden to lend money on "usury." They were permitted to engage in commerce and handicrafts, and could farm lands for a space of ten years, but were expressly excluded from all feudal rights and privileges. This permission was the merest mockery. For the Jews could not learn any handicraft, as no guild or artisans' society of any kind would receive them or permit them to be apprenticed. One does not take to farming in a day. The Jews were driven to the direst straits. Some few accepted baptism to escape starvation. Others resorted to crime to eke out a miserable living. Finally, Edward yielded to the logic of the situation. If the Jews could not have intercourse with their neighbors as artisans, tradespeople, or farmers, and could not engage in "usury," there was no resource but for them to leave

1 For definition of and comment on the practice of usury, see infra, chapter, IV.

the country. Accordingly, July 18, 1290, he issued writs to the sheriffs of all the counties of England, ordering them to enforce the decree that all Jews must leave England before All Saints' Day of that year. They were permitted to carry away their portable property. Their houses and fixed possessions escheated to the King.

THE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD, 1290-1655.

For three hundred and sixty-five years there were nominally and legally no Jews in England. Some converts were maintained in the Domus Conversorum.[1] Part of these remained from the pre-expulsion period, part were refugees from other countries. It seems, however, that in spite of the edict of expulsion, Jews drifted to England in small groups. Occasionally a permit was given to distinguished individuals to visit the country.[2]

[1] The Domus Conversorum was a place of refuge in London, founded by Henry III. in 1232, to provide a home for Jews converted to Christianity. The idea originated with the clergy and the hope was entertained that, owing to the pressure put upon them, the Jews would become converted en masse. But this hope was disappointed. During the fifty-eight years from the founding of the home till the expulsion in 1290, when the condition of the Jews was very miserable indeed, about one hundred Jews in all received the benefits of the home, which included a daily money dole in addition to refuge and sustenance and the benefits of clerical attention. This number is a very small proportion of the sixteen thousand Jews who were in England. From the year 1331 to 1608, thirty-eight men and ten women were admitted into the Domus. See article by Michael Adler in J. Enc., Vol. IV, pp. 636-7.

[2] This was especially the case with Jewish physicians, two of whom were called in to attend to Henry IV. in 1410. See Art. "Jewish Doctors in England," by A. Wiener, Jewish Quart. Rev. Oct. '05.

An ineffectual attempt was made to have the edict revoked in 1310. Throughout the sixteenth century, after the Spanish expulsion of 1492, Spanish and Portuguese Jews came to England, so that at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was quite a colony of them. As a rule they lived as Crypto-Jews, outwardly conforming to the general custom, secretly maintaining their loyalty to their ancient faith. Among these was the Lopez family, one member of which became a distinguished physician and a familiar at the court of Elizabeth, and was said to be the original of Shylock.[1]

THE RESETTLEMENT, 1656.

From Edward I. to Cromwell, the Protector, it was a far cry in English history, not merely in years, but in social, economic, religious and political conditions. The England of Edward I. meant, economically, a feudal system, in which there was no place for a middle class that was neither agricultural nor military. Religiously and politically it meant an established Church, so entrenched in governmental favor, that the lot of the non-conformist was indeed an unhappy one. The England of Cromwell had no feudal system, and it possessed so many religious sects that their numbers made them tolerant not only of each other, but some placed even tolerance of the Jews among their religious teachings. The influence of the Hebrew Bible was perceptible in the thought, literature and language of the period. The Puritans were thoroughly Hebraic in spirit. The writers of the day made frequent use of Old Testament incidents, language and names. It was suggested, in Bare-

[1] See infra, Chap. IV.

bones' Parliament, that seventy should be the number of the Council of State, in imitation of the old Sanhedrin. Hebraic names and phrases were in common use. In an atmosphere such as this, the movement for the formal and legal readmission of the Jews into England could be launched with fair prospects of success. Cromwell himself held liberal views as to religious toleration, and, in addition, like William the Conqueror, he had economic reasons for favoring the return of the Jews. By reason of their international commercial activities they were well informed of the operations of the several governments of the world, and they gave Cromwell important knowledge as to the movements and plans of Charles Stuart in Holland, and of the Spaniards in the New World.[1] Likewise one of the conspiracies against Cromwell's own life was laid bare by a Jewish merchant.

The Protector realized also the great assistance the Jews could render in building up the commercial prosperity of England.

The first step was made by a petition, presented in 1649 by two Baptists, "Johanna Cartwright, and her son, Ebenezer, freeborn of England, but now residing in Amsterdam." [2]

The move was favored by such men as Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, and by the Independents, the Puritans and the Baptists. Many people were moved by religious reasons, deeming the occasion one making for the conversion of the Jews and the advent of the millenium. The Jews themselves were represented by

[1] See "Cromwell's Secret Intelligencers," by Lucien Wolf.

[2] See list of Authors and Works, appendix, A. Seventeenth century.

Menasseh ben Israel, a most learned Rabbi of Amsterdam, and a keen student of affairs. He dedicated a volume on the "Hope of Israel" to the British Parliament, and addressed a petition to the Council praying for favorable consideration of the question of the return. The St. John mission sent in 1651, to Amsterdam, in connection with the Navigation Act of that year, held conferences with Menasseh and the Jews of Amsterdam, with the result that Menasseh was invited to come to London. War breaking out between Holland and England prevented his acceptance of the invitation until its close. In 1655 Menasseh, accompanied by three Rabbis and his brother-in-law, came over to London, presented his "humble address" to Cromwell, who referred the matter to the consideration of the Council. A national conference was summoned, in which leading lawyers, divines and merchants were invited to discuss the legal, religious and commercial aspects of the question. The lawyers declared there was no legal bar to the return of the Jews. The clergy and the merchants were both violently opposed. Seeing that no favorable decision would result, Cromwell dismissed the conference without taking action.

The effect was rather the opposite of that which was sought, the agitation aroused tending toward bitter feeling against the Jews. In the following year the question was brought to issue again by the breaking out of the war with Spain. The Crypto-Jews living in London had passed themselves off as Spaniards. Feeling against them became so pronounced that they were compelled to throw off their disguise, declare themselves as Jews

and appeal to Cromwell for protection.[1] Cromwell took the matter into his hands by giving to the Jews "informal permission to reside and trade in England on condition that they did not obtrude their worship on public notice and that they refrained from making proselytes." [2]

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION, 1740-1858.

Thus in 1655-6, the Jews came back, somewhat clandestinely, into England under the protection of the

[1] The text of the petition is as follows: "To His Highnesse Oliuer Lord Protector of the Comonwelth of England, Scotland and Ireland & the Dominions thereof. The Humble Petition of the Hebrews, at Present Residing in this city of London whose names ar vnderwritten Humbly Sheweth. That Acknolledging The Manyfold favours and Protection yor Highnesse hath bin pleased to grant vs in order that wee may with security meete priuately in owr particular houses to our Deuosions, And being desirous to be fauoured more by yor Highnesse wee pray with all Humblenesse yt by the best meanes which may be such Protection may be graunted us in Writing as that we may herewith meete at owr said priuate deuosions in owr Particular houses without feere of Molestation either to owr persons famillys or estates, owr desires Being to Liue Peacebly under yor Highnes Gouernement, And being wee ar all mortall wee allsoe Humbly pray yor Highnesse to graunt us License that those which may dey of owr nation may be burved in such place out of the cittye as wee shall thincke conuenient with the Proprietors Leaue in whose Land this place shall be, and soe wee shall as well in owr Lifetyme, as at owr death be highly fauoured by yor Highnesse for whose Long Lyfe and Prosperity wee shall continually pray To the Almighty God etc. Menasseh ben Israel, David Abrabanel, Abraham Israel Caruajal, Abraham Coen Gonzales, Jahacob De Caceres, Abraham Israel De Brito, Isak Lopes Chillon."

Cromwell's comment was: "Oliuer P. Wee doe referr this peticon to the Consideracon of or Councill. March ye 24th 1655-6."

[2] J. Enc. Vol. V., p. 169.

Puritan Cromwell. There were several attempts within the next fifty years to have this permission revoked. They all failed. Quietly, yet steadily, the Jews began to demonstrate their value to the State and their usefulness as citizens. In 1723 a special act of Parliament was passed which gave them two elementary rights, which had hitherto been denied them, one was the right to hold land, the other was to omit the words "upon the true faith of a Christian," in taking oaths. This latter, however, did not apply to oaths of office. It was not yet possible for Jews to hold public office. In 1740 a naturalization bill was passed, whereby Jews residing in British colonies for a period exceeding seven years might become naturalized. In 1753 a bill was introduced, known as the "Jew Bill," which permitted "persons professing the Jewish religion" to be naturalized by an act of Parliament. Though considerable opposition manifested itself, the bill passed both houses. The opposition appealed from the parliament to the people. The appeal was not in vain. The country was aroused to a violent outburst against non-conformists and aliens, to such an extent that in the following year the bill was repealed.

The effect of the repeal was truly disheartening upon the Jews. A general feeling of insecurity and uncertainty spread among them, and for the rest of this century there were no further attempts to secure the rights of citizenship. The struggle began again early in the nineteenth century. In 1829 the civil disabilities were removed from the Roman Catholics. In 1830 a petition of two thousand names, merchants and others from Liverpool, was presented in behalf of the Jews. After sev-

eral failures, a bill passed the Commons in July, 1833, but was rejected by the Lords. For over a decade the contest was intermittently waged. One concession was obtained in 1835, viz., that Jews were allowed to hold the office of sheriff. Another bill in 1846 gave them further rights, though the right to sit in Parliament was still denied them. This issue was finally forced and won through Mr. David Salomons. It was he who had been selected to the office of sheriff, and for whose relief the Sheriff's Declaration Act had been passed in 1835. Though Baron Rothschild had been elected to Parliament from the City of London, and had not been permitted to take his seat, Mr. Salomons was undeterred. He came forward as a candidate for the borough of Greenwich in 1851 and was elected. He entered the House of Commons and insisted on taking his oath on the Old Testament, and without the concluding words, "on the true faith of a Christian." He even ventured to take his seat and voted upon the very question of his right to remain in the House. He was ordered by the Speaker to leave, and replied in an able and dignified address, which won the sympathy of many members. Nonetheless, the matter was referred to the law courts, and Mr. Salomons was fined five hundred pounds for each vote he had recorded.[1] But his act had renewed the struggle in very concrete form, and after several more failures, finally in 1858 an act became law, by which, in the case of Jews, the concluding words of the oath of office, "on the true faith of a Christian" were omitted. This removed the last bar to complete citizenship. Excepting the crown itself, every public office

[1] "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," by James Picciotto, London, 1875, pp. 398-9.

was attainable by Jews and their civic emancipation was complete.

The history of the Jews in England for the past fifty years has been, with one exception, one of increasing happiness for themselves and credit to the English people and their government. In 1870 the religious tests were removed from the universities. In 1881 when the frightful treatment of the Jews by the Russian government compelled attention from the civilized world, it was in England where the noblest demonstration took place. A meeting was held in the Mansion House, at which the barbarism of Russia was scored by some of the greatest leaders in England. Over one hundred and eight thousand pounds (five hundred and forty thousand dollars) was collected as a fund for relief. The exception, referred to, is the passage of the Alien Bill, in 1904. Its design is to prevent the landing of ignorant or impoverished or undesirable immigrants. The bill is professed to be economic rather than religious in character, but in the agitation for its passage, much anti-Jewish sentiment was aroused and expressed. Its enforcement likewise bears more hardly upon Jewish than upon other immigrants.

CHAPTER III.

The Pre-Elizabethan Period.

The first mention of the Jews in English literature struck the keynote of the treatment that had been accorded them by so great a majority of English writers that it may almost be called unanimous. This treatment very naturally reflected the attitude of the English people toward their Jewish neighbors. This attitude was one that was neither pleasant for the Jews nor creditable to England. It was one of cruel injustice, of unreasoning antagonism and disparagement. Few indeed were the authors who had any kind words for the unhappy "chosen people."

The first mention, referred to, is an allusion to them found in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, written in 731. The reference has neither literary or historical merit. It is given simply because it is the first, and because it has the significance that is a type. It has to do with a controversy that had raged between British and Romish monks upon the highly important question of the manner of cutting the monkish tonsure and of the keeping of Easter. The Romans, desirous of covering their British brothers with infamy, accused them of the crime that once in seven years they concurred with the Jews in the celebration of the Easter festival.[1]

History.

[1] The "seriousness" of this charge led doubtless to the edict, published nine years later, by Ecgbright, Archbishop of York,

From this date references to the Jews are found in the histories of England, especially in the civil and ecclesiastical records, increasing in frequency as, after the conquest, the Jews increased in numbers and came in contact with their neighbors and fellow-citizens. These annals likewise have no specific literary attraction, being merely lists of prohibitions and accusations by the clergy, of taxes, tallages, fines and damages exacted by successive sovereigns. Beneath the dry records can be read a tale of tragedy for the Jew, growing deeper as religious fervor waxed with the growing power of the Church, and royal spendthrifts became more involved in debt and subject to clerical dominion or to the later-growing power of the barons.

The profane historians of the day reflected the same spirit of antagonism. They wrote of the great afflictions that befell the Jews, yet have no word of commiseration for them. William of Newbury was a contemporary of the massacre at York in 1190. His "Historia Rerum Anglicarum" (1198) gives the fullest and most authentic account of it. There is no word of sympathy in his narrative for the hapless victims. He freely confesses the injustice of the attack, its selfish motive,[1] its brutal character. "Many of the province of York," he says, "plotted against the Jews, not being able to suffer their opulence, they themselves being in need, and without any scruple of Christian conscience, thirsting for the

that "no Christian should presume to Judaize, or be present at Jewish feasts." Paragraph 146 of "Canonical Excerptiones," pub. 740. See appendix A to Lecture II: "The Jews in Great Britaine," by Rev. M. Margoliouth, London, 1846.

[1] The attackers desired to destroy the evidence of their debts to the Jews.

blood of infidels from greed of booty." [1] He deplores the killing of the Jews, not however for humanity's sake, but on account of expediency. They should have been spared for purposes of "Christian utility." "The perfidious Jew should be allowed to live among Christians as the form of the Lord's cross is painted in the Church of Christ, viz., for the continual and most helpful remembrance by all faithful of our Lord's Passion." [2]

Mathew Paris, an historian of the thirteenth century, writes in similar vein. His "Historia Major" has much to say about the Jews from very earliest times, but he accepts, and puts down as veritable, the slanders uttered against them. In his account of the incident of the martyrdom of little St. Hugh of Lincoln, to him there is no question but that the Jews were guilty. Though the incident occurred in August, and Passover is never later than April, he accepts without comment the statement that the lad was sacrificed as a "Paschal offering." [3] Paris was a monk of the abbey of St. Albans, and as a monk should have been better acquainted with the ecclesiastical calendar. But being a monk, he was ready to accept and propagate any charge against the Jew.

POETRY.

The incident of Hugh of Lincoln evidently made a wide and deep impression. It was recorded not only in the history but in the poetry of the period. The ballads of the day, the truest index of the popular mind, show how universally

[1] See J. A. E., p. 118.

[2] Ibid., p. 122.

[3] See "Jewish Ideals and other Essays," Joseph Jacobs, Lon., 1896, p. 195.

the superstition of the people accepted the story as true. No less than eighteen versions of it have been collected [1] from among the ballads of the time. The best known is that of "The Jew's Daughter." Here an added touch of pathos, or of cruelty as you may choose to view it, is given by the thought that the child is enticed away and put to death by a female hand. She rolls him in a cake of lead and casts him in the well, full fifty fathoms deep. The ballad pictures the frantic mother's search for him at the "Jew's castell, at the Jew's Garden and at the deep draw-well." At each place she calls aloud for her child, asks him if he is there.

"Quhan bells were rung, and mass was sung,
And every lady went hame:
Than ilka lady had her zong sonne,
But Lady Helen had nane.

Scho rowd her mantil hir about,
And sair sair gan she weip;
And she ran into the Jewis castell
Quhan they wer all asleip.

My bonny Sir Hew, my pretty Sir Hew,
I pray the to me speik.
'O lady, rinn to the deep draw-well,
Gin ze zour sonne wad seik.'

Lady Helen ran to the deep draw-well,
And knelt upon her kne;
'My bonny Sir Hew, an ze be here,
I pray the speik to me.'

'The lead is wondrous heavy, mither,
The well is wondrous deip,
A keen pen-knife sticks in my hart,
A word I donnae speik.

[1] By Prof. Childs, Camb. Vol. II., 1882.

Gae hame, gae hame, my mither deir,
Fetch me my winding sheet,
And at the back O' Mirry-land toune,
Its thair we twa sall meet.'"

Another version of the ballad gives the mother's name as Maisry, and makes the boy's dead body meet her. It also adds a mystic touch by having all the bells of Lincoln rung without men's hands.

"Now Lady Maisry is gane hame
Made him a winding sheet;
And at the back o' merry Lincoln
The dead corpse did her meet.
And a' the bells o' merry Lincoln,
Without men's hands were rung;
And a' the books o' merry Lincoln,
Were read without men's tongue;
And ne'er was such a burial
Sin Adam's days begun."

The greatest poetic genius of the period could not rise above the superstitions of his age. In the Prioresse's Tale of the Canterbury Tales, Chaucer evidently has reference to this Lincoln episode. It is true he lays the scene in "Asie, in the gret citee," and thus appears to have no local allusion. But he closes with the significant invocation:

"O yonge Hugh of Lincoln, sleyn also
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
For it nis but a litel whyle ago;
Pray eek for vs, we sinful folk vnstable
That of his mercy God so merciable
On vs His grete mercy multiplye,
For reuerence of his mooder Marye. Amen."

William Langland, a contemporary of Chaucer, makes no reference to the Lincoln story, but he has

something to say to the Jews. His "Vision of Piers the Plowman," is a mystical, religious poem made up of "nine dreams," but it doubtless speaks the mind of the English people of his day, upon various incidents to which it makes reference. In Book XVIII., 104, Faith speaks to the Jews and thus reproves them:

"Ye cherls and youre children, chiene (thrive) shall ye nevre,
Ne have lordship in londe, ne no land tylye (till),
But al bareyne be and usuarye usen,
Which is lyf that oure lorde all lawes accurseth."

THE DRAMA.

The drama of the pre-Elizabethan period may be summed up in the cycles of Miracle or Mystery plays. These plays in England and on the Continent were originally the work of the clergy, both in their composition and production. Though later profane imitators took hold of them and became successful rivals to the clergy, yet the impress of the church was always present. The plays were intended to illustrate the Scriptures, to be a dramatic vehicle of religious instruction and exhortation.

The subjects were practically all taken from the Old and New Testaments, or from ecclesiastical traditions. A number of days, not less than three, was necessary to produce a series which, as with the Towneley Mysteries, numbered thirty plays, from the "Creation" to "Judgment Day." Jewish characters naturally were represented in these plays, and there can be observed in the treatment of them that broad line of cleavage which religious prejudice has drawn. The Jewish characters of the Old Testament are pictured as normal hu-

man beings. There is no word of condemnation for them, qua Jews. The buffoonery, that was intended as the comic relief to the strain of the tragic portions, e. g., the horse-play between Cain and the plow-boys, the shrewish conduct of Noah's wife, these are not at their expense. They are clever touches that appeal directly to rustic human nature. But with the representations of the New Testament the whole atmosphere is changed. The Jews are no longer normal human beings. They are the accursed despisers, tormentors, and crucifiers of the Saviour. By the playwright of the Yorke Cycle, even "Pilate himself is handled with unusual gentleness, being depicted as fair of person and noble of heart, but unable to protect his prisoner, to whom he does involuntary homage, from the hatred of the Jews."[1]

Though these plays appeared in England mostly after the expulsion, 1290, when there were few Jews in the country, the effect of them upon the popular mind can very easily be imagined. The scenes depicting the life and passion of Jesus were given with startling realism. They moved their spectators, and the actors themselves, to the profoundest depths of feeling. At times the actors fainted on the stage because of the intensity of emotion, and spectators lost their reason.[2] This religious ecstacy could not fail to be turned into the bitterest hatred when it considered the people whom it held to be the cause of the "divine tragedy." Nor did the

[1] "The English Religious Drama," Katherine Lee Bates, Macmillan & Co., 1893, p. 97. I desire to express my indebtedness to this volume for much of the material on the Mystery or Miracle plays. A complete list of the plays, together with the Morality plays, may be found in the appendix of the work, pp. 241-254.

[2] Ibid, p. 36.

playwrights take any pains to minimize this effect. On the contrary it was heightened by the fact that the Jews were made conspicuous by their garb. Judas, as the arch-conspirator, the type of the race, was depicted with red hair and beard, and with a yellow garment. "The tormentors of Christ wore jackets of black buckram, painted over with nails and dice." Then, too, every detail of the suffering of Jesus was given with exaggerated emphasis, till the tension at the crucifixion became well-nigh intolerable to the audience, standing open-mouthed and wide-eyed, drinking in every incident with quivering hearts stirred to the profoundest sympathy. It is not surprising that the populace of the middle ages hated the Jews. Nor is it surprising that authors, seeking to reach popular approval, in drama, poetry or fiction, should follow the lines upon which the mind of the people ran.

These plays were the seed from which sprouted the magnificent growth of the Elizabethan drama. The sap of the root is in the fragrance of the flower. Though in the dramatic unities, in plot, construction and treatment, "The Rich Jew of Malta," and "The Merchant of Venice," may be as far removed from the Miracle plays of the fourteenth century as the heavens are above the earth, yet had not the latter been, the former could not have been. A Barabas and a Shylock could not have been created, or lived, but in an atmosphere provided by the early religious dramas.

In addition to the several cycles of Miracle plays there was a number of isolated plays that dealt also with Biblical or with religious topics. Among these is "The Play of the Sacrament," whose probable date is about

1461. It is neither a Mystery play nor a Morality. "It is believed to be the earliest English drama extant, which has neither allegorical characters, nor a plot founded on Biblical narrative, or on the life of a saint." [1] It deals with a religious theme and its effect is inevitable. Its plot pivots on the clerical slander, prevalent during the middle ages, that the Jews outraged the sacred host, whereby Jesus was made to suffer anew the pangs of the Passion. The story runs that a Jew, Jonathas, together with other Jews, bribes a Christian merchant, Syr Arystory, to steal the holy wafer from the altar of the church for them. Horrified at first by the impious suggestion, the Christian merchant's horror vanishes when the promised sum reaches a hundred pounds. He consents to steal the wafer from the altar. The Presbyter of the church comes to Syr Arystory for supper. The merchant plies him with wine till he is drunk. He takes the church keys from him, invades the altar and carries the sacred host to Jonathas. The wonder-working qualities of the wafer are depicted in full. Jonathas takes it to his house and he and his friends stab it with daggers and nail it to the wall. It bleeds and Jonathas tears it from the wall to throw it into a caldron of boiling oil, but it sticks to his hand. In the attempts to detach the wafer, Jonathas' hand is torn off. The wafer, with the hand, is thrown into the oil, which straightway turns red as blood and overflows the caldron. It is then cast into an oven of fire. The oven explodes and the image of Jesus appears, pleading with his tormentors to cease. Stricken with fear and remorse they do so, and beg for pardon and are given it. The

[1] Ibid, p. 146.

right hand of Jonathas is restored to its place. He makes public confession and undertakes a penitential pilgrimage.

This drama, whose "mechanical effects" seem a worthy precursor of the modern stage realism, has this noteworthy fact, that the Jews are not pictured as being actuated by hatred of the Christian Saviour, but by an honest desire for information, to find out if the tales told of the wafer are accurate or not. It is hardly to be expected, however, that the average auditor or spectator concerned himself with the motive of the Jews. Sufficient for him that the Jews had insulted the Church and renewed the sufferings of his Lord. The spirit of the play is in keeping with the earlier religious dramas and could not but have helped to intensify the antipathy with which the Jews of the time were regarded.

JEWISH LITERARY ACTIVITY.

Strictly speaking, the Jewish contributions to English literature in the period are nil. This does not, however, signify that there was no literary activity among them. Deprived as they were of the simplest, elemental rights of participation in the national life of the English people, it was hardly to be expected that they would seek their theme in this direction. Besides, they did not speak the language of the land. Their ordinary intercourse between themselves was in French, such business relations as they had with their neighbors were conducted in Latin, the official language of the day. Their writing was done in Hebrew. The many misfortunes and persecutions which they suffered were hardly

conducive to literary labors. Yet there was considerable intellectual movement among them, for the Jewish intellect is active. They had established schools at Oxford and other towns, which were well attended, and by Christian scholars as well as Jewish. Their efforts were confined mainly to Biblical commentaries, and ethical and grammatical treatises.

A distinguished figure is that of Abraham Ibn Ezra, a scholar and traveller who visited England during the twelfth century. While there, he wrote a religious treatise "Yesod Moreh" (The Foundation of Religion), which he dedicated to Joseph ben Jacob in London, and a "Sabbath Epistle," in which he confirms the custom of observing the Sabbath from evening to evening, because it is written in Genesis i. 5, "and it was evening and it was morning, the first day." Abraham Ibn Ezra is noteworthy also for the fact that he is original of Browning's "Rabbi ben Ezra." [1]

The most prominent Jewish literary figure of the period is Benedictus le Puncteur. He belonged to a school of grammarians and Bible commentators, who flourished during the twelfth century. They made a special study of the punctuation of the Hebrew (Massoretic) text of the Bible and its grammatical constructions. Hence the name Puncteur (Heb., "Ha-Nakdan"). But Benedictus did not confine himself to dry disquisitions of grammar. He indulged in flights of imagery, and is the author of a number of beast fables, under the title "Mishle Shu'alim," "Fables of

[1] Furnivall Bibliography, p. 162.

Foxes."[1] These fables are written in rhymed prose, and are similar to other collections of beast fables. He was likewise the author of a book of morals (from his Fox Fables), an ethical treatise (Sefer Matzref), and a commentary on the Bible. He also made a translation of Adelard of Bath's "Quaestiones Naturales," and a work on Mineralogy. Benedictus is doubtless the most important Jewish literary figure of the pre-Elizabethan period.

The poetic art is represented by Meir ben Elias, of Norwich, who wrote a number of poems, including one with an acrostic of his own name, a favorite exercise with early Jewish writers. Elchanan ben Isaac likewise wrote a number of poems and a work on astronomy. There were other Biblical commentators and grammarians, one of whom, Rabbi Jacob of Orleans, was killed in the massacre at the coronation of Richard I. in 1189.

[1] Dr. Joseph Jacobs (J. A. E., pp. 167-9) has an exceedingly interesting note comparing the fables of Benedictus with those of Aesop, which occur in the Ysopet of Marie of France, which was written however in England before 1226. Also with fables ascribed to King Alfred.

CHAPTER IV.

The Elizabethan Era.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1603, witnessed a golden age in English literature. There were minor poets who, like the paling stars, heralded the dawn. Then came the morning-glow of Marlowe and then the noon-day radiance of the master-mind of Shakespeare. There is no key to the problem as to why the Jew should have been introduced into the literature of this age as prominently as he was. The incident of Roderigo Lopez did not occur till 1594. What few Jews lived in England did so very quietly and for the most part in disguise. Yet as early as 1579 Stephen Gosson describes in his "Schoole of Abuse," a lost play called "the Jew . . . showne at the Bull (an inn) . . . representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers and bloody mindes of usurers." Possibly this play was the final echo of the earlier religious dramas. Five years later Robert Wilson, in "The Three Ladies of London" continues the topic by depicting the Jewish creditor of a Christian debtor. The Jew threatens his reluctant debtor if he does not pay, but when the judge decides in favor of the latter, declares himself satisfied with the principal and willing to let the interest go. In Greene's drama, "The First Part of the Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turks," there is a Jewish character, Abraham, who poisons Bajazet at the instigation of Selimus. Selimus plots the death of Bajazet his father, and these significant lines are put in his mouth:

"Bajazet hath with him a cunning Jew
Professing physicke; and so skill'd therein,
As if he had pow'r over life and death,
Withall a man so stout and resolute
That he will venture anything for gold.
The Jew with some intoxicated drinke
Shall poyson Bajazet and that blind Lord:
Then one of Hydraes heads is clean off."

That this passage is intended to refer to the incident of Roderigo Lopez cannot be gainsaid. Lazarus Piot translated "The Orator, handling a Hundred Severall Discourses." The ninety-fifth discourse is of a Jew who would have for his debt a pound of flesh of a Christian. This piece appeared in 1596, and was doubtless inspired by "The Merchant of Venice."

"THE RICH JEW OF MALTA." Christopher Marlowe,

"Bathéd in the Thespian Springs,
Had in him those brave translunary things
That the first poets had."

It is a thousand pities that he, like his greater brother, should have given over that "fine madness (which) still he did retain" to the tragic misrepresentation of a people. "The Rich Jew of Malta" is not Marlowe's greatest play. It does not touch the heights that "Tamburlaine" or "Dr. Faustus" reached, yet none the less it had the "mighty line" which Ben Jonson so admired. Owing to the inevitable comparison with the "Merchant of Venice," it has been accorded a place in literature it would perhaps not otherwise have attained.

Barabas, the Jewish character, is an atrocious villain, a monster of wickedness, showing in the exaggeration of his portrayal the lyric ecstasy which would have

made of Marlowe a greater poet, had he given to Euterpe the same affection he bestowed upon Melpomene. The source of the plot is unknown. It was borrowed, no doubt, from some novel. The scene wherein the governorship of Malta is conferred upon Barabas may have been suggested by the following incident.[1] In the earlier part of the sixteenth century a Jew, Joseph Nassi, had been of great service to Soliman, Sultan of Turkey, and still more so was a great favorite with the crown prince Selim (note the coincidence with the name Prince Selim Calymath). Through the agency and counsel of Nassi the Sultan Soliman defeated the designs of France and wrested the Isle of Cypress from Venice. As a reward for his services, the Jew was made Duke of Naxos and ruler of the Cyclades. It is possible that some rumor of this episode may have reached England, and according to popular conception, the Jew could have achieved this only by Machiavellian means, as in the prologue Machiavel says that Barabas' wealth "was not got without my means."

There are one or two places in the play where Marlowe does touch upon the truth as far as the Jews are concerned. Barabas' love for his daughter, Abigail, his one redeeming quality, is Jewish. The family ties among the Jews have always been strong and pure, and in this connection, as will be shown later, Marlowe is truer than Shakespeare. He is also correct when he makes Barabas declare that men of judgment should hold their wealth "in little room" (Act I., Sc. I.). This was a policy forced upon the Jews by the exigencies of

[1] See "The Jew in English Fiction," Dr. D. Philipson, Cin., 1889, pp. 19-20.

their life. Driven from land to land, uncertain of the tenure of their stay in any locality, plundered and persecuted at the whim of prince or monarch or the needs of the royal treasury, they were compelled to have their wealth in portable shape as far as possible, so that when fleeing, they should not be utterly bereft. The other incidents of the play as pictures of Jewish life or character are false, all false. No Jew would ever employ his child as Barabas did Abigail, to lure two lovers on to their death. Nor would a Jew have had the inhumanity to poison a houseful of human beings. Marlowe reiterates the old calumnies that the Jews poison wells and "go abroad of nights to kill sick people groaning under walls" (Act II., Sc. 3), and the lesser lies that consider that

> "It's no sin to deceive a Christian,
> For they themselves hold the principle,
> Faith is not to be held with heretics,
> For all are heretics that are not Jews."
> (Act II., Scene 3.)

"The Rich Jew of Malta" was written in 1588 or 1589, but a few years before Marlowe's death and when he was in his prime. He was only twenty-nine when he was killed in a tavern brawl in 1593. It exhibits the depths as well as the heights of his genius. The plot is an accumulation of horror piled upon horror, and the characters are impossible. "It is as though Marlowe raked the dregs and ransacked the dunghills of humanity to justify the melodrama of his hero's cursing end." [1] The motive and occasion of the play are alike unknown. Had Marlowe been of an especially

[1] Symond's "Shakespeare's Predecessors in English Drama."

religious turn of mind, or were he susceptible to public sentiment, thriftily to cater to it, it might be said one of these motives actuated him. But he was an outspoken atheist, careless of public opinion, indifferent to public clamor or approval. He had no sense of thrift or providence. He was a full member of that brotherhood of the age, who lived for the day, who ate when they had, drank when they could and wrote when they must.

The play was extremely popular. Its cruelty, its coarseness, its vulgar horrors suited the age. The genius of Marlowe had dared burst the bonds of the rhyming couplet and had given the splendid swing of the blank pentameter. It could have carried even a heavier burden than the hyperbole of its horror and the unnaturalness of its hero, had these been possible. Marlowe's influence upon his generation was distinctly visible, not only in the mechanism of production, but in the spirit. Shakespeare, though practically of the same age as Marlowe, was slower in development and gives evidence of his discipleship. "The Merchant of Venice betrays the last definable traces" of it, says Sidney Lee.[1] In earlier plays the traces are abundant. "'Titus Andronicus' is Marlowesque in its cruelty and horror." It appeared shortly after "The Rich Jew of Malta." The character of Aaron in it is a heartless villain. He is called a Moor, but it is more than possible that a name so distinctly Jewish was not chosen without intention, even as the name Barabas, the thief whose life was saved in preference to that of Jesus, was chosen to make him the more hateful.

[1] "Life of William Shakespeare," Lon., 1903, p. 68.

"The Rich Jew of Malta" is a classic, but one of injustice and untruth. It was a picture of the popular conception of the Jews, as it existed in Marlowe's day. It was an untrue conception, begotten of ignorance and prejudice, and Marlowe helped, all unhappily too well, to strengthen and perpetuate them. The extravagances of the play are no doubt put aside, but the intolerance and the utter lack of understanding of Jewish life and character, upon which they were based were destined, unfortunately, not only to survive, but to be given a wider audience and to be illuminated by the genius of England's greatest poet and dramatist. Though an incident of profound public interest was the occasion for the "Merchant of Venice," Marlowe's play was in no small measure the model and the motive of it.

"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE."

Among the plays of Shakespeare "The Merchant of Venice" is listed as a comedy. It is in reality not a comedy, but a tragedy, deeper and more bitter than even the imagination of the master poet could have devised. It is the tragedy, not of an individual, but of the century-enduring humiliation and insult to a whole people, the tragedy of the accepted misrepresentation of their life and character, of the fastening upon them of a cruelly false name, and making it a by-word and a reproach. The Jews have suffered from many false accusations in the course of their history. The old Romans accused them of worshipping the head of an ass in their "holy of holies." The mediaeval clergy accused them of poisoning wells, of causing the plagues, epidemics and pestilences that ravaged Europe during

the middle ages. They charged them with the mutilation of the sacred host and with the infamous crime of ritual murder. All these superstitions have happily passed away. Some untrue charges, in one form or another, are yet made even in this twentieth century. But of them all none has been more persistent, or more damaging by reason of its presentation, than the characterization given them by England's greatest playwright. Through his genius there has been given world-wide currency to the conception that the Jews are a class of people, of whom a hard-hearted, loveless and vengeful usurer is the type. The tragedy deepens when we consider, (*a*) that in the earlier narratives of the pound of flesh there is no mention of a Jew—the original Shylock was a Christian; (*b*) that the introduction of the Jew was purely gratuitous and malicious, and, though the change was not made by Shakespeare, yet was used by him to cater to the passion of the period and the prejudice of the people, (*c*) that, all this aside, the characterization of the Jew as bloodthirsty and revengeful is unwarranted by the whole history, tradition, custom and teaching of the Jew and his religion.

Shakespeare, in every human probability, did not personally know any Jews. He was born almost three centuries after the expulsion. He died a full half century before the readmission. Had he met, even in frequent and familiar intercourse, some of the Jews, who were residing in England, he could hardly have discovered their Jewish characteristics. It has been claimed that he travelled on the continent, and visited Italy and Venice, and thereby had occasion to meet and know

Jews. In this connection Sidney Lee says,[1] "It is unlikely in fact that Shakespeare ever set foot upon the continent of Europe, in either a private or a professional capacity." Granting even that he did, it is hardly possible that he could ever, by personal contact or experience, have learned to know the character of the Jewish people so that this knowledge should be the basis of an accurate portrayal of it.

Shakespeare did not write the "Merchant of Venice" from any personal knowledge of the character, or life, or religion of the Jew, nor from any knowledge based upon study or research. The play was an occasional piece, a "pot-boiler," written at a time when public clamor was raised against the Jews, and in order to take advantage of that public attention that was directed upon them. The circumstance that aroused this clamor and claimed the public mind at the time was the conviction and execution of Roderigo Lopez.[2] The Lopez family had fled from Spain, doubtless in 1492, when the Spanish decree of expulsion was promulgated. After some wandering they settled in England early in the sixteenth century, and remained there as Crypto-Jews. Roderigo Lopez was a distinguished scholar and physician and had risen to high place in London and at the court, in spite of his Jewish birth.

In 1590, Antonio Perez, a defeated aspirant to the throne of Portugal, fled to London with a large retinue

[1] Life of William Shakespeare, p. 42.

[2] The substance of the history of this incident is from an article by Sidney Lee in "The Gentleman's Magazine," Feb., 1880, entitled "The Original of Shylock." A summary of Mr. Lee's article may be found in Furness' Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, appendix to the "Merchant of Venice."

of servants. Roderigo Lopez was assigned as his interpreter and representative at Court. The Spanish armada had been defeated but two years before. The fever against Spain had not abated and Antonio was warmly welcomed as an enemy of Philip of Spain. But he was a shallow and ungrateful fellow and he and Lopez did not get on well together. Spanish emissaries tried to take advantage of the friction between them to further their own ends. Lopez refused to be drawn into the matter, though he did incautiously betray his feeling against Perez. There were plots and counter-plots and all the intrigues familiar to royal households. A plot was made against the life of Elizabeth herself and Lopez was accused of participation in it. His house and possessions were ransacked, but no evidence could be found against him. But the poison of accusation worked in the minds of the courtiers and people. When those who were accused with him were threatened with torture, a story was concocted that involved Lopez beyond the hope of extrication. A week after the first failure to implicate him, Lopez was arrested and brought to trial. From the beginning sentiment was against him. In the general mind his religion was excuse for any villainy. Coke, the prosecutor, laid stress on the fact that he was a Jew. The judge who presided, spoke of him as a "vile Jew." The verdict was a foregone conclusion. He was adjudged guilty, and the judgment was popularly acclaimed. Yet those who thought were not satisfied, and the Queen herself refused to sign the death-warrant. It was not until after much delay had inflamed the public mind, and on the representation of a partisan justice, who had been elevated to the bench, that "much

scandal and dishonour" would ensue from further delay, that she finally affixed her signature to the papers. Lopez was hanged at Tyburn, May, 1594. His execution aroused great public excitement, which was not lessened by the fact that the government put forth several official accounts of the conspiracy.

The theatre was then the medium of public knowledge and the moulder of public opinion. It was the daily newspaper, the periodical and magazine rolled in one. In Henslowe's diary there are entries that between May, 1594, the date of the execution, and the end of that year, there were twenty representations in which a Jew was the subject. Among these was the "Merchant of Venice," produced August, 1594, under the title "A Venesyon Comedy." All the others have sunk into the lap of oblivion. Clothed in the immortal garb of his author's supreme genius, Shylock alone survives.

The execution of Roderigo Lopez was the occasion of Shakespeare's writing the "Merchant of Venice." But where did he get the material that forms the plot of the play? There was nothing in the life of Lopez to suggest that. The story of the pound of flesh was an old one even in Shakespeare's day. There is a number of versions, dating back as early as 1250, and found in the French, Italian, German, English and Danish literatures of the period. In all these earlier versions the creditor, who seeks the pound of flesh, is never a Jew. Both parties to the compact are Christians, or nominally so. The Jew was introduced by the Italian writer, Fiorentino, in 1378, in a volume of short stories, which he published, called "Il Pecorone." It was Fiorentino's version that Shakespeare used. Fiorentino laid the

scene in Venice. He changed the incident to make the borrower borrow, not for himself, but for another. He pictured his fortune as bound up in ships and their cargoes scattered upon the seas. Dr. Graetz says[1] that Fiorentino made the change and gave the role of the heartless creditor to the Jew, because he wrote shortly after the black plague,[2] which, in 1348, swept over Europe and ravaged every continental State. The Jews had been accused of poisoning the wells and causing the plague. Fiorentino, like many another bidder for applause, could ride upon the crest of the wave of popular prejudice and turn its force to his own advantage. From this perverted version of an old story, Shakespeare drew his matter, skilfully interwove with it the lighter theme of another tale, "The Story of the Three Caskets," and by the glamour of his genius blinded the eyes of the world to the cruelty and injustice of it.

Shakespeare's treatment of the character of Shylock has been the subject of much debate. Probably none of his characters, outside of Hamlet, has been so much discussed. There are those who hold that Shakespeare did not intend to attack the Jew, but to defend him, that in reality Shylock is the hero of the play, that he is not a mere sordid usurer, relentlessly demanding the last letter of his bond, but the spokesman of his people in the expression of the wrongs that they suffer, and which they seek to redress. An impartial reading of the play lends plausibility to this contention. Shylock, without doubt, has the better of the argument all

[1] See Graetz, "Shylock in der Sage, im Drama, und in der Geschichte," Krotoschin, 1880.

[2] Ibid.

through. There is no silencing of the battery of his logic, or weakening of the strength of his position. When Antonio comes to borrow the money, Shylock turns upon him with a flash of illuminating indignation at the treatment he has hitherto received at Antonio's hands.

"Signior Antonio, many a time and oft
In the Rialto you have rated me
About my monies, and my usances:
Still have I borne it with a patient shrug;
For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe:
You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
And spet upon my Jewish gaberdine,
And all for use of that which is mine own.
Well then, it now appears you need my help:
* * * * * * * *
What should I say to you? Should I not say,
'Hath a dog money? Is it possible
A cur can lend three thousand ducats?' or
Shall I bend low, and in a bondsman's key,
With bated breath, and whispering humbleness,
Say this,—
'Fair sir, you spat on me on Wednesday last;
You spurn'd me such a day; another time
You call'd me dog; and for these courtesies
I'll lend you thus much monies?'"

(Act I., Scene III.)

It is here, indeed, that Shylock speaks as the representative of his people, voicing the wrongs, the insult, the humiliation, the constant outrage upon their feelings as men and as Jews, which they received from their Christian fellowmen. It is unanswerable in its logic, eloquent in its scorn, righteous in its resentment. Antonio can make no answer. With dogged insolence he says:

"I am as like to call thee so again,
To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too,
If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends * * *
But lend it rather to thine enemy:
Who, if he break, thou mayst with better face
Exact the penalty." (Ibid.)

The gage is thrown and accepted. It is not an accommodation between friends. It is a contest between enemies, and under ordinary conditions the exaction of the bond would have been justified.

But, this justification notwithstanding, it was not Shakespeare's intention to justify the Jew. He wrote the play to take advantage of an incident that had aroused wide public interest and excitement. It is hardly probable that he would have attempted to stem the wave of hatred that just then more than ever surged among the London populace. When first produced, during Shakespeare's life and doubtless with his knowledge and approval, the play was given as a comedy, with Shylock as a comic character, with red beard [1] and hair and exaggerated features. It was not until one hundred and fifty years later, in 1741, that the actor Macklin played the character seriously and invested it with dignity. It was this portrayal that drew from Pope the couplet,

"This is the Jew
That Shakespeare drew."

It was the Jew that Shakespeare drew, but not that he intended. Shakespeare's genius was greater than

[1] In the mystery plays of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Judas, the arch traitor, was dressed in a yellow garment with red hair and beard. See *Supra*, Chap. III., p. 56.

himself. His sense of justice, his keen perception of the fundamental truths of things, his intuitive knowledge of human nature, his sympathy with the persecuted and the despised, his almost infallible grasp upon the moving springs of human conduct, made him create a character nobler than he intended, and to justify Shylock as the representative of a sorely-abused people. His reply to Salarino's question, as to why he would take the pound of flesh if it became forfeit, is an exposition of the human heart as revealing as the glare of a searchlight upon a neighboring shore.

> "To bait fish withal: if it will feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge. He hath disgraced me, and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies; and what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction." (Act III., Scene I.)

It is the finest justification of Shylock's conduct that need be given. It is a vindication, whose eloquence and whose justice are as unmatched as Shakespeare's own consummate genius, and one which, if uttered by Christian lips, would be applauded to the echo. Victor

Hugo says of it: "This sublime imprecation is the most eloquent plea that the human voice has ever dared to utter for a despised race. Whatsoever the denouément it is here justified. Let Shylock be as implacable as he may, assuredly he will no more than equal his instruction. Even granting that he obtains a pound of Antonio's flesh, it will never outweigh, in the scales of reprisal, the millions of corpses heaped in Christian shambles by the butchery of thirteen centuries." [1] A German writer says of it: "Here it is that Shylock appears as the deputy and avenger of his whole, shamefully-maltreated people. In his tones we hear the protest, crying to heaven of human rights trodden under foot, and against the love of humanity paraded by the hypocritical mouths of his oppressors." [2]

And yet, great as is the argument in behalf of the worm that turned, it is not a true picture. As completely justifiable, according to normal human lines of conduct, as they may have been under the conditions, vengefulness and thirst for blood are not characteristic qualities of the Jews. The great wrong that Shakespeare has done the Jewish people, was not in the fact that he fashioned such a character as Shylock, but in the fact that by constantly associating the word "Jew" with the usury, the cruelty, the vindictiveness and the bloodthirsty vengefulness ascribed to him, by emphasizing at every evil point Shylock's race and religion, he has made him as a type of his people, and his vices and his faults as characteristics of his kinsmen. Shake-

[1] Quoted by Furness, Variorum Edition, "Merchant of Venice," p. 128.

[2] Honigman, Shak. Yahrbuch XVIII., p. 221.

speare has painted many other villains: Macbeth, King John, Richard III., Iago,—has made them murderous, cruel, treacherous and vengeful,—yet never did he associate their religious creed with them, and no reproach has ever come through them upon the Christian religion or Christian peoples. The villainies that they executed were individual,—the villainy of Shylock was made to be Jewish. This is the bitterness of the "Merchant of Venice."

The use of the word usury is misleading. To-day the taking of ordinary, legal interest for the loan of money is considered as a legitimate and commendable enterprise. Usury means unnatural and exorbitant interest exacted through the necessity of the borrower. In the early and middle ages *all* interest was called usury. The Church had placed its ban upon the taking of interest. It held the principle enunciated by Aristotle, that money was barren and could not breed anything, that it was simply a convenience of exchange and barter. Yet we know that interest-taking is as old as civilization. Usury in its modern sense was practiced in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. It was common throughout the middle ages in Europe. In England, at the very time that Shakespeare wrote, the practice of usury was carried on to such an extent by the Englishmen themselves, that statutes had to be established to repress their cruelty and heartlessness.[1] The Popes themselves, the very heads of the Church, while it was thundering its anathema against all money-lending for

[1] See quotation from Dr. Tovey's "Anglia Judaica," in "Jews as they Are," by C. K. Salaman, London, 1882, p. 108. For an "Historical Survey of the Practice of Usury in Ancient and Modern Times," see Mr. Salaman's work, pp. 99-122.

profit, were the greatest usurers. Through the means of merchants called Caursini, they loaned the immense revenues of the Church at exorbitant interest, and under a clerical subterfuge that was simply colossal in its hypocrisy.

Legal rates of interest were high during the middle ages. They have fallen with every century of civilization. It is an axiomatic principle of interest that the rates are proportionate to the risk involved. Did the Jewish money-lenders of the middle ages undergo a greater risk than their Christian neighbors? than even the lawless spirit of the time ordinarily created? Money-lending was practically the only means of livelihood permitted to them. They could not own land or till it. They could not enter any of the guilds, or artisans' or merchants' associations, or into any trade or profession, excepting medicine. This last, too, was held against them. Their eminence in the medical profession was ascribed to the use of "black arts." It is one of the cruel ironies of history that the Jews, driven from every other avenue of bread-winning, were forced to be money-lenders and then were spat upon because they were money-lenders. Even in this occupation they were far from secure. The kings used them as sponges, to squeeze gold from, when caprice or necessity demanded. And their less noble debtors often repudiated their indebtedness. It is a fact that many of the massacres, instituted against the Jews, were simply for the purpose of wiping out the evidences of indebtedness which they held. The royal hypocrite, St. Louis of France, ordained that "for the salvation of his own soul and that

of his ancestors," all Christians should be released of one-third of their debts to the Jews.[1]

By reason of the risk involved, the number of debts repudiated without redress, the taxes and exactions forced from them, the Jews would have been wholly justified in charging the highest rates of interest. But it is a question if they were permitted to charge more than the prevailing rates. Shylock as a money-lender is a representative of Jews of the middle ages,—but Shylock as a rapacious usurer is a conception that is false and unjust, by every principle of economics and every fact of history.

Yet even this is trifling compared with the picture given of him as relentlessly demanding his pound of flesh. Herein the characterization is wholly unreal and misleading. It is contrary to the history of the Jew, contrary to the whole spirit of the Jewish religion. The Jew is not vengeful or vindictive. As terribly as he has been treated he harbors neither hatred nor grudge. He knows who it is that has decreed "Mine are vengeance and retribution." He is not cruel. He has no thirst for blood. He has a horror of the mutilation of the body. His Bible teaches him the profoundest consideration for even dumb animals. He is forbidden to practice cruelty against the beast of the field,[2] or the bird[3] in the air. He cannot permit the ox to hunger when he is treading out the corn.[4] He cannot yoke an ox and

[1] Ibid, p. 110.

[2] Exodus xxiii. 12; Lev. xxii. 28; Prov. xii. 10.

[3] Deut. xxii. 6.

[4] Deut. xxv. 4.

an ass together.[1] He cannot remain idly by to see the ass of his neighbor, even of his enemy, fallen under his burden by the wayside.[2] Can it be possible that the Jew, who clung so closely to his Bible, should be truly portrayed as acting in direct contradiction to its precept and its spirit? Shakespeare, with all his genius, and all his wonderful range of knowledge, intuitive and acquired, could not have known or understood the character and customs of the Jewish people, else he never would have painted them as vengeful and bloodthirsty. If he did know and understand, he subordinated his knowledge to the ignorance and prejudice of his generation.

A scholarly writer[3] has put forth the theory that Shylock had not intended to exact the penalty of the bond, that he desired to revenge himself only to the extent of humbling Antonio's pride by making his life subject to the mercy of the despised Jew, or in the event of the payment of the loan, to show the Jew, too, could loan money without interest. It was the incident of Jessica that changed his good intention and transformed him into the hunted creature that turns upon his pursuers with the fury of despair. While not prepared wholly to subscribe to this theory, there is that in the play that lends plausibility to it. In the third act Shylock learns of his daughter's disloyalty and abduction before he becomes aware of Antonio's misfortunes. As he enters, Salarino questions him, "How now, Shylock, what news among the merchants?" Shylock's

[1] Deut. xxii. 10.

[2] Exodus, xxiii. 5.

[3] Dr. M. Jastrow, in "Young Israel," May, 1896.

mind is not upon his ducats, but upon his daughter. "You knew," he responds, "none so well as you, of my daughter's flight." Salarino insolently answers, "That's certain, I, for my part, knew the tailor who made the wings she flew withal." After more baiting and insult, Salarino mentions Antonio's name and asks Shylock if he has heard any news. Shylock knows nothing, and Salarino offers the suggestion that Antonio may have to pay the penalty of his bond, and questions Shylock if he will insist upon it, should the contingency develop. Smarting under the betrayal of his child, and the fresh insults of his interrogator, Shylock's mood is ripe for anything. Yet, even in his wrath he gives ample reason for the step, and there follows that magnificent speech of vindication. In it he pours forth the pent up passion of years, and sends forth his cry against the insult, the injustice and the contumely constantly offered to himself and his people.

It is a fair question whether Shylock's passionate fury would have been so aroused had the incident of Jessica not taken place. Be the answer to it what it may, it is one of Shakespeare's master-strokes that the incident is introduced, and how and when it is. In the scene following, where Tubal tells of Jessica's flight, of her reckless squandering of money, and in the same breath of the wrecking and loss of Antonio's ships, how consummate is the art that binds these two so cunningly together and gives to Shylock reason for his rage and room for his revenge.

As far as his sources are concerned, this incident and the character of Jessica are inventions of Shakespeare. In "Il Pecorone" there are all the other leading

characters, Shylock, Portia, Bassanio, Antonio, and Nerissa,—but no Jessica. In "The Rich Jew of Malta" there is a daughter, but the difference in conduct and character between Abigail and Jessica is so great that one cannot be considered the prototype of the other. Abigail is faithful, obedient, and fully compliant to the wishes of her father, even to her sorrow and against her will. Though Barabas uses his child to further his villainies, yet he loves her strongly, and this tender relation between father and daughter is a more faithful picture of the Jewish custom than are Jessica's apostasy and theft. Shakespeare gave Shylock a daughter, but not a wife. For this latter fact there is cause.

Lessing laid down the principle that in every rightly constructed drama, every character has a reason for its presence, and when a character, normally expected to be present, is absent, there must be a sufficient reason for the absence. There is reason for the absence of Shylock's wife and Jessica's mother. As abnormal and untrue a characterization as is the figure of Shylock as it now stands, it would have been a spiritual and dramatic impossibility had there been a wife and mother in the home. Her absence was a necessity. A Shylock thirsting for revenge, mercilessly demanding his pound of flesh, was only possible when that Shylock was bereft of the softening influence of the home-life, such as it existed in tender and beautiful affection among the Jews. Baited and humiliated in the street, he comes, not to a home, but to an empty house, wanting in welcome, wanting in affection, wanting, above all, in that loving sympathy and understanding which a life's conjugal comrade and companion would know so well to

give. When, in the recital of Jessica's flight and folly, Tubal touches upon her disposal of her mother's betrothal ring, Shylock is touched to the quick. It is the first and only mention of his wife's name. It is the crowning insult, for he knows that it is Antonio's friends who have done it, for they taunt him openly with it. It is the drop that makes his cup of bitterness to overflow. He is now not only the baited Jew. He is the outraged father, the outraged husband, the man who has been wounded in his dearest possession, whose tenderest memory has been desecrated.

The episode of Jessica likewise demonstrates the necessity for the absence of the mother in the development of the plot. Had Jessica known a mother's care and guidance at this supreme moment in a maiden's life, it is inconceivable that she should have abjured her faith, stolen her father's money and made a mock of her mother's ring. She had no companionship at home, not even a maid is mentioned, nor any woman with whom she could have held womanly converse to while away the tedious hours. Like a mere man Shylock turns the key in the door and fondly thinks he is locking out all harm. Had there been a mother's bosom to which a Jewish Jessica could have fled for refuge, a mother's ear into which she could have poured out the whisperings of her maidenly confidences, her shy hopes and tender dreams and girlish visions of romance, had there been a mother's heart that would have felt and known and understood it all, to soothe her with mother-love and counsel, the Jessica of the Merchant of Venice would have been a psychological impossibility. And Shakespeare realized this and purposely omitted the character of Shylock's wife.

In a number of passages there are traces of "The Jew of Malta" in "The Merchant of Venice." Marlowe's "O, my girl, my gold, my fortune, my felicity," (Act II., Sc. I.), and "I learned in Florence how to kiss my hand, heave up my shoulders, when they call me dog," (Sc. II.) are recalled in "Oh, my daughter, my ducats," and "still have I learned to bear with patient shrug," of Shakespeare. But the difference in treatment evinces the wide gap between the talent of Marlowe and the genius of Shakespeare. Aside from his love for his daughter, Barabas is a foolish, boasting villain, where he is not made a horrible monster. Shylock nowhere boasts of his deeds or counts his wealth. He defines and defends his position with unanswerable logic, and if the play appealed only to the intellect and not the emotions, Shylock's position would be unassailable. How splendid is the reasoning in the speech beginning: "What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?" (Act IV., Sc. I.). One feels that it is the merest quibble of the law that defeats him, a loophole of the veriest technicality wherethrough Antonio escapes, and though sympathy may applaud this trick of the law, the judgment cannot approve where equity is denied. On the other hand Barabas is moved simply by a colossal passion of race-pride and race-hatred, which leads him to a frenzied riot of crime, that is as unreal as it is monstrous. Marlowe has no lightning flashes of humor to relieve and lighten the darkness of his tragedy. It is all a piling of Ossa upon Pelion of villainy and horror. He seems to revel in the anarchic ferocity of Barabas. Shakespeare, with marvellous intuition, enters into an understanding of Shylock's feel-

ings, an understanding which, as Dr. Herford says, "the modern world has mistaken for sympathy." The finer, truer delineation of Shylock is not a "deliberate approach to modern tolerance or humanity," "but a severer judgment which tends to make the retribution, which overtakes him, not only more drastic, but to appear to be more just." Marlowe errs also in that he puts pagan and Christian oaths in Barabas' mouth. He makes Barabas use a Latin quotation (by the way, a misquotation) from Terence's "Andria" (Act. I., Sc. I.), to swear by "Corpo di Dio" (Sc. II.) and to address the great "Primus Motor" (Ibid). A Jewish merchant of the period would hardly have been versed in Latin, and even had he been, would not have made use of it as Barabas did, nor indeed sworn "by the body of God." Shakespeare makes no such slip. Shylock's allusions, illustrations and imprecations are all confined to the Old Testament.

Though it has been said that the play was a "pot-boiler," this does not intend to ascribe weakness to it. It is one of Shakespeare's finest dramas—one in which all the phases of his incomparable genius are evidenced. In spite of himself, Shylock is a figure of tragic power, a creation that can stand unabashed by the side of Lear, or Hamlet, or Othello, or Richard III. The lighter touches, that relieve the tension of the tragic strain, are no less the creatures of that same master-mind that fashioned the "Tempest" and "Midsummer Night's Dream." Shakespeare's sin was not that he made Shylock—but that he made him a type.

The other plays in which Shakespeare mentions Jews are "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act II., Sc. 3

and 5; "Much Ado About Nothing," Act II., Sc. 3; "Love's Labour Lost," Act III., Sc. 1; "Midsummer Night's Dream," Act III., Sc. 1; "Henry IV.," Part I., Act. II., Sc. 4; and "Macbeth," Act IV., Sc. 1. None of these references can be considered complimentary.

CHAPTER V.

The Seventeenth Century.

The seventeenth century was an eventful one in the history of the Jews in England. It witnessed their readmission into the land, a not altogether formal readmission, but one sufficiently so to serve all purposes. The agitation began early in the century. It increased as the struggle went on. Nor did it cease when the struggle was won. There were echoes of the conflict and rumblings from the dissatisfied, till well on toward the end of the century.

Political Writings.

The literary phase of the conflict that raged about the readmission of the Jews into England began with the publication of Leonard Busher's "Religious Peace," in 1614.[1] This publication was pro-Jewish. It advocated their cause, but it did so, not on the grounds of right or justice or freedom. Its motive was purely that of theological expediency. To admit the Jews gave opportunity to convert them. The period was that of the Puritan reformation and the age was an intensely religious one. Men were terribly in earnest about their spiritual welfare. It is not surprising that the arguments concerning the readmission of the Jews should have a theological tinge. Those who opposed them did

[1] Republished in 1644.

so on religious grounds. Those who pleaded their cause did so on religious grounds. The literature dealing with this topic fully reflects this religious phase. The proponents, who favored the readmission of the Jews, based their arguments mainly on two grounds—the desire to convert the Jews, and, thereby, to hasten the millenium. Those who opposed brought forth all the old clerical calumnies born of mediaeval bigotry and superstition, and added to them accusations instigated by economic fear and racial antipathy.

There was no principle of justice or humanity or freedom of conscience enunciated, except in rare instances. Captain Norwood, in his "Proposals for the Propagation of the Gospel," 1652, though arguing from a religious standpoint, yet makes the pertinent point, "Shall they (the Jews) be tolerated by the Pope, by the Duke of Florence, by the Turks, by the Barbarians and others, and shall England still have laws in force against them? When shall they be recalled?" Roger Williams, later the protagonist of religious liberty in New England, pointed out [1] that the Jews, even though heretics, might make good citizens. Other proponents [2] for the Jews were Hugh Peters,[3] military historian and chaplain to the Council of State, John Sadler,[4] Edward

[1] "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace." 1644.

[2] A complete list of the pamphlets and books issued in this connection can be found in B. A. J., pp. 46-55, Nos. 238-296.

[3] "A Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom." 1647.

[4] "Rights of the Kingdom." 1649.

Nicholas[1] and Henry Jessey.[2] A sample argument of the advocates for their return may be taken from Thomas Barlow's "The Case of the Lawfulness of the Toleration of the Jews," 1654.[3] He says (pp. 46, 47) "I think there lies a heavy and sacred obligation upon Christians . . . to endeavor the conversion of the Jews, which certainly cannot be by banishing them from all Christian commonwealths. And therefore they must either go to the Jews or bring the Jews to them . . . Now these two are both one . . . for certainly if it be lawful for us to go and live amongst the Jews to preach the Gospel, then it will be as lawful to bring them hither and let them live amongst us to the same purpose." But Barlow is not ready to trust the fate of England and the spiritual safety of its people to the unhampered activities of the Jews. He lays down certain restrictions, which he deems necessary to place upon them. Among these restrictions are the following.[4]

"No toleration should be given them to speak anything blasphemously or impiously against the Gospel."

"Let them profess, but not propagate their religion."

"They are not permitted to carry any office or dignity in the Christian commonweal."

"They are not permitted in any suit or difference between a Jew and a Christian to draw the Christian or his cause before a Jewish magistrate."

"They are never permitted to make marriages with Christians."

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[1] "An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews and all Sons of Israel."

[2] "The Glory of Israel and Judah." 1653.

[3] See "Original Virtue and Other Studies," Rev. S. Levy, M. A., Lon., 1907, p. 122.

[4] Ibid, pp. 123-4.

"If any of the Jews turn Christian, in case the Jews endeavoured to seduce him and maliciously injured him, they were to be burned for it."

"They might repair their old synagogues, but were not to be tolerated to build new."

"By the Canon Law they might not come abroad on Good Friday."

"They are not permitted to wear garments exactly of the Christian fashion, but are to have distinct habits, that all might know them to be Jews."

There were other restrictions to the effect that they might not be physicians, or "give physick to Christians," and that they were not to present an obstinate attitude to the attempts made to convert them. A certain Samuel Hartlib, a sort of Boswellian admirer and attendant of Milton, wrote to John Dury, the celebrated Protestant divine, for an expression of his views on the subject. The latter replied [1] along practically the same lines as Barlow, admission under certain restrictions.

If this was the consideration of their friends and advocates, what tender mercies could the Jews expect from their antagonists? The leading figure of the opposition was one William Prynne. His book [2] ran through several editions and was eagerly made use of by the opponents of the readmission. Prynne wrote in a most bitter and vituperative strain. He declared that

[1] "A Clear Case of Conscience whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth." 1656.

[2] "A Short Demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued Remitter into England; comprising an exact chronological relation, of their first admission into, their ill deportment, oppressions, and their final banishment out of England, never to return again; with a brief collection of such English laws, as seem strongly to plead and conclude against their re-admission," etc., London, 1656.

the admission of the Jews was contrary to law and to public welfare. The Jews are the enemies of Christ, they are usurers, clippers of coin and murderers and crucifiers of children. He declared that they were "not fit for our land nor yet for our dung-hills," and he quoted Scripture to say they "are to be cast out and trodden under the foot of men" (Math. v. 13). But he is an interesting writer and owing to his investigation of the laws bearing upon the Jews, which his official connection with the Record Office made possible, his book is full of information, and, where theological doctrine is not involved, of historic material.

Prynne's attack was answered in a work[1] that, albeit strongly religionistic in tone, is a remarkably just and tolerant document for the period. It gives seven reasons, or arguments for their return, including, of course, the hope of their conversion by hearing sound preaching, but including also the reason that strangers, irrespective of person, should be entertained in a free land, for the good of the commerce and the civil polity.

THE DRAMA.

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603. The star of the stage was then in full ascendency. Shakespeare was yet to produce some of his noblest plays. Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, Massinger, Dekker, Ford, Shirley and "rare Ben Jonson" are names that illumine the boards during the first half of the seventeenth century.

[1] "Israel's Condition and Cause plead, or some arguments for Jews Admission into England. Objections Answered, Cautions Added," etc. Printed by P. W., for Wm. Larnar and Jonathan Ball, London, 1656.

But as the century grows older the drama loses some of its earlier power. It yields to the influence of the profligacy and debauchery rampant at the courts of James and Charles. The range of topics narrows. The tone grows lower and coarser. The themes handled by the dramatists do not reach the heights commanded by the earlier writers. There are few pictures of pure and powerful passion, or of great and moving emotion. There are frequent references to Jews, and a number of Jewish characters introduced, but none of them has the tragic dignity of a Shylock or even of a Barabas.

In the "Malcontent," 1604, by John Marston, there is another recurrence of the Roderigo Lopez incident. The words "Jew" and "poisoner" are used as synonyms. Mendoza asks, "Canst thou impoyson? Canst thou impoyson?" and Malevole replies, "Excellently—no Jew, pothecary or polititian better." In "The Insatiate Countess," by the same author, there is a character with the significant name of Signor Rogero, who is accused of being a Jew. In a play, "Every Woman in her Humor," there is a reference to Jews as "old clo' dealers." Beaumont and Fletcher make simple reference to them in the "Double Marriage" and "The Scornful Lady," In their "The Custom of the Country," however, there is a Jewish character, Zabulon, a rather low character, but into whose mouth, suprisingly, a very noble sentiment is put. In the second act he is met by Arnoldo and Rutilio, both impoverished. Rutilio having expressed the opinion that no help or courtesy could be expected from a Jew, Zabulon replies:

> "We are men.
> And have, like you, compassion when we find
> Fit subjects for our bounty."

Fletcher's "Women Pleased" has a Jewish character, "Lopez," another reference, doubtless, to Elizabeth's unfortunate physician. In Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," there is Jewish character, Abel Dugger, and Dekker brought out a "Jew of Venice." Massinger, in "The Maid of Honour," speaks of the great amazement he would feel if he saw "a reprobate Jew . . . baptized in our religion."

In John Webster's "Vittoria Corrombona," 1612, there is a Jewish character, as also in his "The Devil's Law Case," where a Christian merchant disguises himself as a Jew in order to carry out his nefarious schemes. The joint authors, Thos. Middleton and Wm. Rowley, in "The World Tost at Tennis," 1620, have a curious reference to Jews. They seem to desire to display their Rabbinic scholarship. The passage is as follows:

> "I'll show you, sir,—
> And they are men daily to be seen,
> There's Rabbi Job, a venerable silk weaver,
> Jehu a throwster dwelling i' the Spitalfields,
> There's Rabbi Abimelech, a learned cobbler,
> Rabbi Lazarus, a superstichious tailor.
> These shall hold up their shuttles, needles, awls,
> Against the gravest Levite of the land,
> And give no ground neither."

Whether intentionally or not the authors have given a faithful picture of early Jewish custom. The teachers of Israel held that every man, no matter what his calling, should know a trade. They said the father who fails to teach his son a trade commits a sin. The great leaders and doctors of the law all followed some trade. So "Rabbi Job, a venerable silk-weaver," and

"Rabbi Abimelech, a learned cobbler," and "Rabbi Lazarus, a tailor," though facetiously intended, are not unhistoric portrayals.

In one of Glapthorne's plays, "The Hollander," 1635, there are several unimportant references to Jews.

With the growth of Puritan power and influence a change came over the character of the drama. The sensuous, riotous tone of the earlier plays became more quiet and severe. Broadness in thought and license in expression disappeared. The dominance of the religious element made itself apparent in the atmosphere of the theatre. The plays that have to do with the Jews evidence this change of treatment. While the attitude maintained toward them is not any too friendly, there is a disposition to treat them with seriousness and dignity. The plays revert to Biblical or Palestinean conditions. In 1662 William Henninge produced "The Jews' Tragedy," a play founded on the destruction of Jerusalem. It showed their "final and fatal overthrow." Along similar lines John Crowne, in 1677, wrote "The Destruction of Jerusalem," a tragedy in two parts.

Dramatists write with an ear for popular applause. They supply what the people like and want. Even a Shakespeare did not rise above the prejudices of his day. Hence the drama is a true expression of current popular sentiment, and does not stop to consider the theoretical justice or truth of its themes. Its strength and success lie in action, not in abstraction. Because prejudice against the Jew has existed in the popular mind the playwrights, even to this day, as a rule present Jewish characters in an unfavorable light, irre-

MISCELLANEA.

spective of what the playwright's individual sentiments may be. To a more limited extent this is also true of fiction. But in other lines of literary activity, in works of history and travel, in essays and poetry, that do not appeal to the applause of the moment, there is a greater tendency toward fair treatment, albeit even here prejudice and ignorance often stand in the way of justice.

In 1611, Thomas Coryat published a book of travel called "Coryat's Crudities." [1] Coryat travelled on the continent in 1608 for about a half a year, mostly on foot. He was a shrewd observer and an interesting writer. He gave much attention to Venice, then at the perihelion of her primacy, and devotes considerable space to the Jews of Venice. His description of them is accurate and instructive, where he does not express his personal views about them. He describes their service, which it seems he must have attended, their dress, their appearance and their customs. Of their appearance he says: "I observed some few of those Jewes especially some of the Levantines to bee such goodly and proper men, that then I said to myself our English proverbe: To looke like a Jewe (whereby is meant sometimes a weather-beaten warp-faced fellow, sometimes a phrenetickе and lunaticke person, sometimes one discontented) is not true. For indeed I noted some of them to be most elegant and sweet-featured persons, which gave me occasion the more to lament their religion." The reference to the English proverb is an interesting historical sidelight showing that though it was three hundred years after the expulsion, and a half century before the

[1] An edition has been gotten out by MacLehose, Glasgow, in 1905.

readmission, the Jew was not altogether unknown in England. But he was an unhappy person who had no friends, no rights and no assurance of safety.

Coryat tells also of an argument he had with a "certaine learned Jewish Rabbin that spake good Latin," with whom he struck up a conversation, and whom he asked for his opinion concerning Christ, and why he did not receive him for the Messiah. It is noteworthy that this Jewish Rabbin of the first decade of the seventeenth century expressed sentiments of liberal thought and of appreciation that shine in brilliant contrast with the treatment that was accorded him or his religion. Coryat quotes him as answering that, "Christ was forsooth a great Prophet, and in that respect to be as highly esteemed as any Prophet amongst the Jewes that ever lived before him: but derogated altogether from his divinities." In concluding the interview, Coryat rather naively remarks: "In the end he seemed to be somewhat exasperated against me, because I sharply taxed their superstitious ceremonies."

The agitation for their readmission naturally aroused interest in the Jews and in addition to the shower of political pamphlets and booklets, which the struggle evoked, other works concerning them made their appearance. John Speed wrote "The History of Great Britaine," etc., in 1650, and his references to the Jews are anything but complimentary. But his bias appears to be thoroughly religious. Speaking of the massacre of the Jews at the coronation of Richard I., he remarked that Richard's reign was "auspicated" by this event, and that it "might seeme a presage that this Lion-hearted king should be a speciall destroyer of the enemies of our Saviour."

Edmund Chilmead contributed to the literature of the day a translation (1650) of an Italian work, by Leo Modena, on "The History of the Rites, Customs, Manners and Life of the present Jews throughout the World." The work was neither valuable nor correct.

Pepys in his "Diary," under date of October 13, 1663, records a visit to the synagogue, but his description reveals very little sympathy with the service or the people. Of a different character is the work of the Rev. Lancelot Addison, father of Joseph Addison, the essayist. In 1675 he published a work entitled, "The Present State of the Jews (more particularly relating to those of Barbary), wherein is contained an exact account of their customs, secular and religious, etc." The work is the result of a seven years' residence in Tangiers, where he was chaplain of the garrison. Mr. Addison was a clergyman, and naturally biased along the lines of his calling, yet in spite of this the work is characterized by a liberality of view and a fearlessness of expression that are remarkable for the time.

John Selden, a most learned man, published several volumes regarding Jewish polity and laws, indicating that the attention of the scholarly world had also been turned toward the Jews. Of one of these works (De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum) Hallam says, "His book is excellent for its proper purpose, that of representing Jewish opinion, and it is among the greatest achievements in erudition that any English writer has performed." [1] A similar work on Jewish law was written by John Spencer (1630-1695), though not published till 1727.

[1] Literary History of Europe, Vol. II., p. 509.

The poet Abraham Cowley was opposed to the readmission of the Jews, and in his "Discourse on Oliver Cromwell," he gives expression to this opposition. Aside from this he seems to have a just appreciation of Jewish constancy and reverence. In one poem he says:

> "With more than Jewish reverence, as yet
> Do I the sacred name conceal."

In his poem, "The Prophet," he wrote:

> "Teach me to love! Go teach thyself more wit,
> I chief professor am of it.
> Teach craft to Scots and thrift to Jews."

This last line is something of a surprise. One would have expected him to say "Teach thrift to Scots, teach craft to Jews."

Samuel Butler in "Hudibras" has a reference which can readily be recognized as referring to the evening service of the Jewish holy day, "The Day of Atonement."

> "The Rabbins write, when any Jew
> Did make to God or man a vow,
> Which afterwards he found untoward
> And stubborn to be kept, or too hard,
> Any three other Jews o' the nation
> Might free him from the obligation;
> And have not two Saints the power to use
> A greater privilege than three Jews?

Butler is mistaken, however, in his statement that vows or obligations to man are freed. The service contains a prayer for pardon for the transgression of such vows as were made to God, not man.

Considerable controversial and conversionistic literature appeared during this century. The clergy were

always interested in the religious fate of the Jew, and he was a frequent subject of sermons. Likewise religious disputations were rarely carried on without drawing him in. As this century was a profoundly religious one, there was much literature, of this nature, which concerned the Jew. Such tracts as "A Conference betwixt a Papist and a Jew" (London, 1678), and "A Conference between a Protestant and a Jew" (also 1678) are samples of many similar publications. They dealt mostly with questions concerning the Messiah, the future of the Jews, their return to Palestine, the advent of the millennium, etc. In 1698, however, there appeared a remarkable publication, called "A Letter concerning Toleration Licensed Oct. 3, 1689," and printed in London. Though his name is not on the title page, the author was the famous philosopher, John Locke. The item of interest in this "Letter" is the bold declaration, "If we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither Pagan, nor Mahumetan, nor Jew ought to be excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth because of their religion." One such noble expression outweighs a score of intemperate objurgations, and it is sure to make for nobler sentiment more widely spread.

JEWISH LITERARY ACTIVITY.

The part played by the Jews themselves in the literary movement of this century is not large. Prior to 1656 it is nothing at all. There were only Crypto-Jews living in England, whose whole time and attention were devoted to the problem of mere safe existence. There was neither leisure nor thought for writing. In the

struggle for admission the figure of Menasseh ben Israel looms large. He was not a native of England. He was a learned Rabbi and teacher of Amsterdam. He wrote many volumes on various topics, historical, Biblical and theological. He had command of ten languages, and was in correspondence with the scholars of all nations in his day. He has a place in English literature by reason of the fact that one of his works, translated into English, created a profound impression there, and by further reason that two of his numerous volumes were written to and for the English people. These were his "Hope of Israel" and his "Vindiciae Judaeorum." The first dealt with the idea of the millennium. A certain Antonio de Montezinos (Aaron Levi) had written a work to the effect that, while travelling in the interior of South America, he had come upon a native tribe, claiming descent from Reuben, one of the lost ten tribes of Israel. The tale was supported by an affidavit and Menasseh accepted it. He was endeavoring to effect the admission of the Jews into England, working along the theory that the people of Israel were to be scattered all over the world before their exile was done. Now, as they had been found in North and South America, and England was the only country where they were not, he was aiming to have the circle of their exile complete. This volume created enthusiasm in England, especially among the Millenarians, who looked upon Menasseh as siding with them. But in spite of the enthusiasm there was no practical result. Later he wrote "Vindiciae Judaeorum," "The Vindication of the Jews," a reply to Prynne's "Short Demurrer," [1] in which he defended

[1] See supra, p. 89.

the Jews against the false charges and accusations made against them.[1] Menasseh addressed an "Humble Petition" to Cromwell and to Parliament, and at the invitation of Cromwell visited England in 1655. While his visit was not immediately effective, there is no question but that he had much to do with the successful outcome of the agitation.

From a literary standpoint, Menasseh is no less distinguished. His writings discover deep scholarship, wide reading and much thought. One great work, in four volumes, "Conciliador," has been translated into English.[2] It is an attempt to reconcile the seemingly inconsistent passages of the Old Testament.

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[1] "Vindiciae Judaeorum," under title "Defense of the Jews," was republished in a two-volumed publication called "The Phoenix," in 1707 and 1708.

[2] E. H. Lindo, 1902.

CHAPTER VI.

The Eighteenth Century.

The eighteenth century resembled its predecessor in that during its middle decade there occurred the climax of a violent political agitation with which the Jews were closely concerned. The so-called "Jew-Bill," passed in 1753 and repealed in 1754, evoked a shower of publications, which exceeded in virulent antagonism even those that resisted their readmission into England. It is fortunate that the literature of passion and prejudice is fugitive and that there are but few classics of injustice and intolerance.

Political Writings.

The political literature of the century, in which the Jew was interested, was made up of screeds and pamphlets and ballads, none of which has survived on its literary merits alone. In 1714 there appeared a booklet containing "Reasons for Naturalising the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the same foot with all other Nations." It was answered in the following year by a "Confutation of the Reasons for Naturalising the Jews; Containing their Crimes, Frauds, Insolences, etc." In 1736 there was published a remarkable work [1]

[1] "Complaints of the Children of Israel Concerning the Penal laws; a Burlesque on the Dissenters, petitioning for a repeal of the Test Act." Solom. Abarbanel (W. Arnall), 1736.

addressed to the "Rev. High Priest of the Church by law established." The booklet contains a picture of the grievances of the children of Israel under the Penal Laws and prays for the repeal of the Test Act. It was signed by "Solomon Abarbanel, in Synagogue Lane, Bury Street, the twelfth day of the twelfth month, Adar." It was not, however, written by a Jew, but by one W. Arnall. Its composition betrays a practised hand. The diction is excellent. The style is half serious, half satirical, and its directness and boldness of expression are such as would scarcely have been ventured upon by a Jewish writer at that period. The work ran through seven editions. The writer thus addresses the Bishop: "You avow that the Christian religion was never intended to leave the rights of mankind in a worse condition than it found them, and since 'tis proposed that no religious opinion shall be any longer a civil disqualification, we hope, sir, that you will be our patron on the principle of universal charity, and that as Paul gloried in being the apostle to the Gentile, you will think it no dishonour to be the Bishop of the Jews. . . . You have laid hold of the promise made to father Abraham, and have taken the Kingdom of Heaven as your inheritance; you have converted our moiety of the Bible to your own use; you have seized upon Moses and Aaron and the ten commandments, which were our natural property, and placed them over the communion tables; yet make the pretense of Christian communion a reason for excluding us from the advantages of the commonwealth, so that *our* law and *our* prophets can afford us no protection, though you have exalted them. You have robbed us of our priesthood, Urim and Thum-

mim, and our tithes also, yet give us nothing in exchange but damnation, as if Satan could be such a fool as to take us when we lost all." The pamphlet wanders off for a moment in theological byways, and then returns to the charge by dwelling upon the equality of Jew and Christian. The writer takes up the accusation that the Jews have too great a fondness for the pursuit of mammon and says, "but we find the most sanctified Christians, in respect of worldly lucres, as little scrupulous of taking the profits to themselves as they are of throwing the scandal upon us. We get what we can and keep what we get, not by any principle of religion, but of convenience, which principle reigns in as full perfection amongst the saints at Hackney, as among the Children of Israel in Bury Street or Duke's Place." [1]

Pamphlets pro and con appeared intermittently until 1753, when the passage of the Bill opened the floodgates of opposition. The stream of abuse [2] that flowed from the press was really unwarranted, even if the Jews had committed all the crimes of which their adversaries accused them. The argumentation was a combination of theological wrangling and wholesale disparagement. The following excerpt [3] will serve as a sample. "The Jews are a people of whom God has given the following most shocking description and char-

[1] Piec., pp. 71-2.

[2] "There is no page in the history of the eighteenth century that shows more decisively how low was the intellectual and political condition of England's public opinion." Lecky.

[3] From "An Appeal to the Throne against the Naturalization of the Jewish Nation: in which are exposed the Practices for which the Jews were expelled out of England." 1753.

acter, even at the time when they were accounted His peculiar, chosen people. He complains that they were a most rebellious, disobedient, gainsaying, stiff-necked, impenitent, incorrigible, adulterous, whorish, impudent, froward, shameless, perverse, treacherous, revolting, backsliding, idolatrous, wicked, sinful, stubborn, untoward, hard-hearted, hypocritical, foolish, sottish, brutish, stupid, ungrateful, Covenant-breaking nation of people; a set of evil-doers, a generation of vipers, doing evil greedily with both hands, according to all the nations that were round about them; as bad, nay worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, casting all God's laws and ordinances behind them, trampling them under their feet, rejecting, forsaking, and despising God Himself; provoking Him continually to His face, grieving Him to His heart, forgetting Him days without number, always erring in their hearts and disobeying His voice, etc., etc. And shall it be recorded that Britannia, the first amongst the Christian States, ever admitted such a nation or people as this to become one people, and to enjoy the privileges of a true born Englishman?"

The humorous element was not altogether missing. There were many dark prophecies made as to the future of England if the Jews were permitted to possess the complete rights of citizenship. Some were uttered in solemn earnest. Others, though mayhap intended to convey a serious meaning, were given in lighter vein. Of the latter the following will serve as an index of the character of the humor. "From the Hebrew Journal, published by authority.—'This is to inform the public that the good ship Roderigue alias Salvador, Emanuel de Fonesca, Commander, eleven hundred tons

burthen, fifty guns, Jewish built, a prime sailor, having excellent accommodations for passengers, is now lying at Mr. Caneo's dock, at Limehouse, ready to take in those Christian families that may be inclined to transport themselves to any part of Turkey, as choosing to live under a Mohammedan, rather than a Jewish government. It is proposed that this ship shall return loaded with a proper number of foreign Jews against the next session of Parliament."

"On Monday last a dispensation passed the Great Seal, to enable Abraham Levi to hold a living in the Synagogue of Pauls, together with the rectory of the Rabbi of the diocese of Litchfield."

"Last night the bill for naturalizing the Christians was thrown out of the Sanhedrin by a great majority." [1]

The repeal of the bill silenced the attacks, though occasional echoes were heard for several years following, as in another satirical effort that was put forth in 1768. It was signed by the pseudonym R. Shylock, and it purported to give the "Rabbi's Lamentation on the Repeal of the Jew's Act setting forth to the respectable Brotherhood in Duke's Place how ill it becomes any Dissenters from the See of Rome and Britons more especially, to refuse them the Benefit of Naturalisation."

THE DRAMA.

In the drama the Jew received on the whole in this century somewhat fairer treatment than he did at the hands of political controversialists. It is true the century started out with the presentation, in 1701, of a travesty on the "Merchant of Venice." But before it closed

[1] See Pice., pp. 90-91.

there were dramatists who put the Jew upon the stage in far better light than had yet been accorded him. Lord Lansdowne adapted a comedy from "The Merchant of Venice." It was acted at Lincoln's Inn Field in 1701 under the title, "The Jew of Venice." There were several innovations introduced. The supper, to which Shylock was bidden, (Act II., Scene V.) is pictured. A feast is given on the stage, where a separate table, with separate food and drink, is arranged for Shylock and he is made to drink a toast to money as his mistress. The comic features are exaggerated throughout, and the character of Shylock is made the butt of ridicule and shorn of every vestige of dignity.

In 1723 Elijah Fenton produced a tragedy, "Mariamne or the Unhappy Loves of Herod and Mariamne." It was the only play he wrote, but it achieved great success. In 1749 there appeared in print an anonymous play called "The Jerusalem Infirmary, or a Journey to the Valley of Jehosaphat." It was never acted, and doubtless was not intended to be. It is a jumble of unintelligible abuse and jargon, and endeavors to make an outrageous attack on the character of the Jewish people.

The wit of Richard Brindsley Sheridan enlivened the drama during the latter half of the century. But it did not brighten the position or reputation of the Jews. In 1775 he produced his "Duenna," a comic opera, in prose. In the character of Isaac Mendoza he portrays the Jew in the usual rôle of a scheming money-lender. Sheridan does not treat him seriously. He laughs at him, holds him up to ridicule, but he makes him a villain none the less, and a villain without

the redeeming features of deep emotion or the respectability of strength. Sheridan is here plainly the pot-boiling playwright, not the artist with an ideal to portray. He had opportunity to know better and the wit to do nobler, but popular and pecuniary success were a stronger incentive than fairness or justice. Unfortunately, he calculated well. The play was a tremendous success and ran through the season with but few intermissions of several days at Christmas and the Friday of each week. It is interesting, and also humiliating, to know that this weekly Friday intermission was for the reason that the part of Don Carlos was sung by a Jew, one Myer Leoni, who was Cantor of the Portuguese synagogue, and could not act on Friday nights.[1]

In the "School for Scandal," there is also a Jewish character, a Mr. Moses, and of course a money-lender.

But the Jews found a champion in Richard Cumberland. He was the first dramatist who dared to oppose popular prejudice and produce a drama in which the Jew was not only not a villain, but the leading and heroic character. In 1794 his play "The Jew" appeared. Its principal character is Sheva, a philanthropist of a peculiar kind. He stints himself that he may give to others. Under a most unpromising exterior there exists a most beautiful soul. Sheva does good by stealth and is embarrassed when his benefactions are discovered. The plot of the play is thin, and the treatment is unrelieved by any flashes of genius. But it is so refreshing a contrast to Barabas and Shylock that it stands out in the history of the Jew in English drama as the first and bravest attempt to treat the Jew with

[1] See "Book of Essays," by S. A. Hirsh, Lon., 1905, p. 273.

any degree of justice. Yet it is not altogether just, for with the exaggeration characteristic of the drama, Cumberland makes Sheva overgood, as Barabas is overbad. Dickens made the same mistake with Riah, in "Our Mutual Friend," when he tried to atone for the Fagin of "Oliver Twist." Yet here, too, is the tragedy for the Jew. Barabas and Shylock and Fagin are widely known and taken as types. Sheva and Riah are comparatively unknown, and when known are not regarded as types, but as exceptions. Yet the one class is not more exceptional than the other.

Cumberland's sentiments were nobler than his dramatic ability. As one critic[1] well says, he had the "theatrical instinct, though not dramatic genius." Yet "The Jew" met with success, and it deserves to be remembered for its courage and the nobleness of its effort. Its effect was evidenced by the appearance of imitations, and the treatment of the Jew was to some degree modified. Charles Dibdin produced, shortly afterwards, two dramas in which Jews are interested, "The Jew and the Doctor," and "The School for Prejudice." Though the presentation is by no means as favorable as Cumberland's, yet the plays abound with just sentiments. Another play called "The Jew of Mogador," was written in the same friendly and kindly spirit that Cumberland had exhibited in "The Jew."

OTHER LITERATURE.

The literary firmament of the first quarter of the eighteenth century held many bright stars. The names of Addison, Steele, Blackmore, Gay, Congreve, Cibber, Collier, Defoe, Prior, Pope, and Swift illu-

[1] Prof. Ward.

mine the reigns of Queen Anne and George I. But few of them paid attention to the Jews, and such as did gave them but passing and not altogether complimentary reference. Though Pope could utter grand lines of universal tolerance in his "Essay on Man," and Defoe make a bold stroke for liberty of conscience in his "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," yet neither tolerance nor liberty of conscience were for those outside the pale of the forms of Christian belief. It is true Joseph Addison has some pleasant words [1] for them, especially with regard to their commercial utility and value, and he praises their loyalty to their faith in the face of all the persecutions to which they have been subjected, yet his kindly nature did not prevent him from calling their religion a superstition and from declaring that their dispersion and their consequent sufferings were an act of Providence and an argument for Christianity.

In the "Rape of the Lock" (Canto II.) describing Belinda, Pope says,

> "On her white breast a sparkling Cross she wore,
> Which Jews might kiss and infidels adore."

The words are harmless enough, but the context and the meaning confirm the popular fiction of the mercenary passion of the Jew.

Interest in the Jewish people, from an historical standpoint, was aroused in 1711 by the publication of

[1] Spectator No. 495, Sat., Sept. 27, 1712. It is an interesting coincidence, though without significance, that the three essays in which Addison writes about, or refers to, the Jews were dated on Saturdays. They are numbered 213, 495 and 531.

Thomas Madox's "History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England." It is not, strictly speaking, a work that appeals to the literary sense. But Madox in his researches found so much material bearing upon the Jews, that he devotes a whole chapter, VIII., of the book to them. He was followed by Dr. D'Bloissiers Tovey, of Oxford, who wrote "Anglia Judaica, or the History and Antiquities of the Jews of England, etc." It was published in 1738. Dr. Tovey levied unsparingly both upon Madox and Prynne, from whose "Short Demurrer" he made long and frequent quotations, though "he fell a victim to the perverse habit of forgetting the use of inverted commas."[1] Tovey's work, however, is not altogether unoriginal, nor devoid of wit. Speaking of a seal attached to a Jewish deed in Merton College Treasury, he says, "The graven image upon this seal can't be thought a breach of the Second Commandment, for it is the likeness of nothing that is in heaven, earth or water."[2]

Other historical publications about the Jews appeared later in the century. In 1787, in Archaeologia, Vol. VIII., John Coley wrote "A Memoir of the Origin of the Jews in England." In the same year Duncan Shaw gave forth a "History and Philosophy of Judaism," "which was a most ingenious defense of the Mosaic system against the philosophic theories of David Hume."

A remarkable work of five volumes appeared in 1766, under the title of "The Jewish Spy." It is signed

[1] Rev. S. Levy, M. A., "Anglo-Jewish Historiography," Vol. VI. of Transactions of Jewish His. Soc. of Engl. Edinb. 1908.

[2] Ibid.

by Marquis D'Argens [1] as translator, and it purports to be a translation of the correspondence between five distinguished Rabbis who reside in different cities. Though the various letters are all doubtless from one hand, yet a difference in style and form, as well as matter, is given for each one, and this difference is maintained throughout. It is a well written book, giving evidence of philosophic, historical and economic scholarship, and of a considerable acquaintance with Jewish customs, traditions and literature. The matter of the book comprises a survey of the various governments of Europe at whose several capitals these Jewish Rabbis reside either permanently or temporarily during their travels. The survey is made with a keen and critical eye, and there is no sparing in criticism wherever the writer's judgment determines a weakness. The book was one of a number of similar works that appeared about this time, under the titles, "The English Spy," "The French Spy," "The German Spy," etc.

[1] Though Marquis D'Argens signs himself as the translator, he is doubtless the author. There is an interesting anecdote recorded of him in Abraham's "Curiosities of Judaism," London, 1879, p. 34. The Jewish philosopher, Moses Mendelsohn, desired to reside in Berlin, which was permitted only to Jews born in Berlin, or to those in the service of one of their co-religionists. It was the Marquis D'Argens who procured the privilege of domicile for Mendelsohn with the following note, addressed to Frederick the Great, who was partial to him. "A bad Catholic philosopher entreats a bad Protestant philosopher to grant the privilege to a bad Jewish philosopher." The Marquis D'Argens' acquaintance, or friendship, with Mendelsohn, which this incident sheds light upon, will account for his knowledge of Jewish history, customs and literature, which is in evidence in "The Jewish Spy."

JEWISH LITERARY ACTIVITY.

Jewish literary activity during this century is fairly considerable. No Jewish champions appeared during the fight on the Jew Bill. The intolerance and savage bigotry displayed during the passage, and especially on the repeal, of the Bill, were indeed best answered by silence. Argument cannot compete with bigotry. In other spheres of literary endeavor there was also a dearth of Jewish figures during the first part of the century. A few names, however, can be placed on record. In the first quarter of the century several poets came to light. They were of Spanish-Portuguese descent. Sara de Fonesca Pina y Pimentel, Manuela Nunes de Almeida, and her daughter Bienvenida Cohen Belmonte, essayed the lyre and produced a volume of verse. But their fancy turned mostly to devotional and religious themes. In conjunction [1] they issued, in 1720, a translation of book of verse of the Judaeo-Spanish poet, Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna. The volume was titled "A Faithful Mirror of Life," and contained a metrical version of the Psalms. Abraham Bravo, a financier, but with a penchant for verse, was also an admirer of Laguna's work, "Espejo Fiel de Vidas," and eulogized it in English verse. Other writers of the same period were Benjamin D. Fernandez and Abraham J. H. Pimentel, a brother of the lady mentioned above. The Rev. David Nieto came to England in 1702 and published two Hebrew works under great difficulties. The type was set by Christian workmen, who were un-

[1] See "Die Judischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst," M. Kayserling, Leipzsig, 1879.

versed in the Hebrew and innumerable proof-sheets had to be read.

The Jewish literary figure of the century was David Levi. Born in 1742, he was acquainted with poverty from his youth. He was an humble artisan, a shoemaker and a hat-dresser. But even amidst the struggles for a livelihood, for himself and his family, in this lowly occupation, he devoted himself to the study of the faith he loved so well. Most of his literary labors were of a semi-religious or technical character. He wrote "Lingua Sacra," a Hebrew dictionary and grammar, in three volumes, and a work on "The Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews." He made translations into English of Hebrew prayers and hymns, and of the Pentateuch, and wrote a work on "Dissertations on Prophecies." His translations are not as happy as might be, but as Rev. S. Singer[1] has declared, his "insight, diligence and conscientiousness merit far greater appreciation than they have yet received." Levi's claim to recognition does not rest so much upon these works as upon his "Reply to Dr. Priestly's Letters to the Jews," 1787-9. Dr. Priestly was a well known and distinguished philosopher and dissenting minister. He published a series of letters, inviting the Jews to a discussion on the evidences of Christianity. The invitation was accepted by Levi, who replied to Dr. Priestly in a booklet of 103 pages. While not the polished writer nor the astute logician that his opponent was—in fact he likened Dr. Priestly to the Philistine Goliath and himself to David—Levi seems to have more than an-

[1] Quoted by Mr. I. Abrahams in Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. XI., p. 68.

swered his arguments. Dr. Priestly was surprised to have "unearthed a more valiant champion" that he anticipated. He replied with another series of letters, which, forgetting the courtesy of controversy, he addressed to "The Jewish Nation" at large instead of to his opponent. To this Levi again responded, and likewise replied to five other authors whose religious ire he had aroused by his first series. Similarly he defended his faith against the attacks of atheism by a vigorous series of "Letters to Thomas Paine, in reply to his Age of Reason."

Levi's fame will not rest upon his literary work as such. He was a diligent scholar and an earnest thinker. But he was a bold champion of his faith, an ardent and devout Jew, who was the first to defend his faith in English. He died in 1801, and an elegy in his honor appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," written by Henry Lemoine. Two stanzas of it are given.

"Though science reared not in his anxious breast,
Confessions, creeds, nor formularies vext,
On prophecy's sure grounds he built his rest,
Nor with their mystic meanings was perplext.
He took the part benevolent and sincere
To argue and explain from falsehood clear.

For to Priestley's philosophic views,
He cautious answered in his people's name.
The sceptic turned, nor more among the Jews
Sought for another argument or claim,
Nor did the arch demagogue's disloyal train
From Levi's pen a better chance obtain."

A Jewish writer of some merit was Moses Mendez, died 1758. He was a poet and dramatic writer. His first effort was "The Double Disappointment," a ballad-

opera, produced with success at Drury Lane in 1746. "The Chaplet," words by Mendez, music by Boyce, was a clever piece of writing and scored a great success. Two later productions, "Robin Hood" and "The Shepherd's Lottery," were not so successful. Mendez wrote one prose work, "Henry and Blanch" (1745), a tale adapted from the French of Gil Blas. He wrote some poems, two of them, "The Seasons" and "The Squire of Dames," in imitation of Spencer. His "Blatant Beast" appeared posthumously in 1792. Mendez was not without merit, yet cannot be regarded as a brilliant literary figure. His humor is the "mechanical fun of the playhouse of his day." His verse also betrays the lack of the heavenly fire.

Ralph Schomberg, 1714-1792, was a physician and an author, a voluminous but not very creditable writer. He wrote a number of medical works, a burlesque entitled "Death of Bucephalaus," a poem called "Fashion," a "Life of Maecenas," and "A Critical Discourse on the Writings of Pindar and Horace." He was more versatile than virile.

A number of other writers appeared in the last third of the century, mostly, however, in technical or professional lines. Emanuel Mendez da Costa, 1717-1791, was a scientist, antiquarian, and Fellow of the Royal Society of London, who produced a number of volumes on scientific and philosophic subjects. Sir Alexander Schomberg, 1716-1804, a naval officer, was the author of "A Sea Manual, recommended to young officers of the Royal Navy." Medical literature was further represented by G. Levison, died 1797, and Phillip Stern. Abraham Van Oven translated Congreve's

"Mourning Bride" into Hebrew. Abraham Buzaglo,[1] died 1788, was an author and inventor. Bible commentary is represented by Abraham Tang, whose work shows acquaintance with philosophic and classical literature.

[1] His literary genius was eclipsed by his inventive faculty. He designed a new kind of stove, which he called a "warming machine," intended to heat large rooms and public halls. The item is of interest by reason of the fact that the well-known "three-story stove" preserved as a relic in the capitol building at Richmond, Va., is one of these "warming machines." The words, "Buzaglo fecit, 1772," are plainly discernible upon it.

CHAPTER VII.

From Eighteen Hundred to Date.

The civic and literary history of the Jews in England during the nineteenth century is the happiest in their annals since first they followed the fortunes of the Norman conqueror from the continent on to British soil. The nineteenth century was a century of emancipation in all directions, physical, intellectual and spiritual. The influence of the American and French revolutions, especially of the latter, was unmistakable. In England this influence was nowhere so apparent as in its literature. The group of writers, whose names illuminated the first quarter of the century, evidenced the new sense of freedom that was obtaining among the nations. The romantic renaissance of the early nineteenth century, of which Shelley, Keats, Byron, Wordsworth, and Scott were the sponsors, was a reflection of this spirit. As the century grew older, intellectual leaders became more and more advanced in breadth and freedom of thought. The spirit of tolerance and justice was abroad in the land and was felt in all avenues of human activity and intercourse. The Jewish people were the beneficiaries of this new enlightenment, as they had been the victims of the ignorance of the earlier centuries.

Political Writings.

There was one more political struggle through which they had to go before they secured full rights as citizens of England. Though this struggle lasted longer and was no less strongly contested

than the others, there was little, if indeed any, of the bitterness, or the malicious antagonism and hatred that were so much in evidence in the previous political contests. A Prynne's "Demurrer," [1] or "An Appeal to the Throne," [2] were not in accord with the *Zeitgeist* and nothing like them appeared. The struggle was for the full enfranchisement, for the right to hold office, to take seats in Parliament and to serve the government without submitting to formulae that entailed violation of conscience. The crux of the contest was the phrase, "on the true faith of a Christian," occurring in the oath to be taken by members of Parliament and other public officials upon assuming office.

The wide chasm between the England of the eighteenth century and the England of the nineteenth century was manifest in the manner of this contest. There were those who strongly opposed the enfranchisement of the Jews, but the grounds of the opposition were more social and economic, and less religious, and for this reason the tone of it was less malevolent and bitter. The Jews themselves, more confident and resolute than hitherto, took a manly part in the fight for their rights, and did not fear to present their arguments and claims. Then, too, there rallied to their side some of the most distinguished men of the day. Lord John Russel, Gladstone, Macaulay and Dr. Whately, the Archbishop of

[1] See supra, Chap. V.

[2] See supra, Chap. V. For the low social, political and intellectual condition of England during the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Chapter VII., Vol. II., Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe."

Dublin, are among the noble names that are enrolled on the side of humanity and justice. The opponents to the enfranchisement were plentiful, but not prominent.

The literature of the struggle, while profuse enough, was not in such form as to become a permanent possession in the treasury of letters. It was confined mostly to newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. One of the most noted of the opponents was the Rev. Geo. Croly, who held, in a pamphlet of forty pages, published in 1848, that the "Claims of the Jews were incompatible with the National Profession of Christianity." The Rev. John Travers Robinson, in the same year, published "Remarks deprecating the proposed Admission of Her Majesty's Jewish subjects to Seats in the House of Commons." The antagonists, however, were not all clerical. Another pamphlet,[1] 1848, signed by the pseudonym "Euphron," opposing the bill for the relief of the Jews, declares that "a member of Parliament has work to do, not merely honors to enjoy. And on the principles, political and religious, which he conscientiously and consistently maintains, depends his fitness for the high office, with which he is invested." This principle no one will quarrel with, but the application is illogical when the writer urges that the admission of the Jews will make a "needless break in the bulwarks of the constitution." In 1809 there had appeared "An Essay on the Commercial Habits of the Jews," which, on economic grounds, opposed their naturalization.

Of the literature of the defense the most notable is the speech of T. B. Macaulay on "The Civil Disabilities

[1] "Remarks on the Proposed Bill for Admitting Jews into Parliament," Euphron, 1848.

of the Jews." [1] It is in Macaulay's inimitable prose style; the irresistible accumulation of facts, the impregnable logic, the wonderful wealth of historical references, citations and illustrations, all marshalled in the orderly array of incisive paragraphs, half-earnest, half-satirical, yet wholly convincing, that move along with the precision and power of a regiment of well-drilled soldiers. Dr. Richard Whately delivered a speech in the House of Lords, which was published August 7, 1833. It was a dignified and noble effort. In "Additional remarks," the Archbishop maintained "that no one's religious opinions, so long as he does not molest his neighbors, ought to interfere with his civil rights; and that as men we should employ our conscience to sit in judgment on ourselves, not on our own brother, whose religious errors, however great, and scruples, however foolish, should not prevent us as civil legislators, from treating him as a good citizen, so long as he show himself qualified and disposed to act as such." Another splendid effort, both from a literary as well as humanitarian standpoint, and one that deserves a place by the side of Macaulay's essay, is that of William Hazlitt, on the "Emancipation of the Jews." [2] As a piece of argument it is no less strong or fine than Macaulay's. Another splendid defense was given in a book by Charles Egan, "The Status of the Jews in England," printed in 1848. It is a work abounding in noble sentiments and making an eloquent plea for freedom and justice. On the whole, the Jews have more than the victory

[1] First published in Edinburgh Review, Jan., 1831.

[2] See Vol. XII of "Collected Works of William Hazlitt," pp. 461-466.

itself to be thankful for, in their final struggle for their rights as citizens in the commonwealth of England.

THE DRAMA.

In the dramatic literature of the nineteenth century the Jew does not figure quite as conspicuously as he did in the Elizabethan era. He appears quite frequently, it is true, but in plays that have not had more than a passing tenure upon public attention. Also the treatment of him, while not unanimously kindly, yet has not the fierce hostility which characterized earlier productions, and which was a reflection of the animosity to which the superstitions and deep religious hatreds of former generations gave birth. The example of Cumberland's Sheva had not been in vain. Dibdin's farce, "The Jew and the Doctor," was confessedly written, at the request of Mr. Dowton, of the Drury Lane Theatre, to have a play with a Jewish character as good as Sheva. Abednego, the character, is quite as benevolent, but far more farcical than Sheva. Abednego adopts a foundling and shows himself to be compassionate, but not sentimental. In Dibdin's "School for Prejudice" there is also a Jewish character, and in his opera "Family Quarrels," he has some humorous sallies at the expense of the Jews. Cumberland repeated his defense of the Jews in another play, "The Jew of Mogadore."

The tendency seems to have been to produce comic Jewish characters. A travesty of Shakespeare's play was produced by Frank Talfourd in the "Merchant of Venice Preserved." In several other unremembered plays, such as "The Flying Send," "The World," "Queen's Evidence" and MacFarren's "Malvina," there are comic Jewish characters. Sheridan Knowles and

Douglas Jerrold deal pleasantly with the Jew in the former's "Maid of Mariendorpt," and the latter's "Prisoner of War" (produced 1842). In this last play the Jew, Boaz, lends money to English prisoners. He loses many of his accounts by reason of his debtors escaping or being shot. But he bears the losses with equanimity and carries the good-will of the audience with him. Jerrold's "Painter of Ghent" has two Jewish characters, Ichabod and Isaac. In Leman Rede's drama, "The Skeleton Witness," the unusual occurs. The Jew, Simeon Levi, is represented as being duped and nearly ruined by the Christian villain of the play.

A number of adaptations and translations made their appearance. In 1818, Penley brought out a version of "The Rich Jew of Malta." Two adaptations from "Ivanhoe" appeared in "The Hebrew," 1820, and "The Maid of Judah," 1829, and a play called "Oliver Twist" was put on the boards. "The Jewess," an adaptation of the French "La Juive," was given at Drury Lane in 1835. Two translations of Mosenthal's "Deborah" were produced, one by Daly under the title "Leah the Forsaken," and the other by Cheltman, in 1864, as "The Jewish Maiden's Wrong."

In serious drama the Jew fared variously. There are Jewish characters in "Jack Sheppard," "The Maid and the Magpie," "Ticket of Leave Man," "Will Watch," and in Shirley Brook's "The Creole." In none of these is the characterization pronounced. Sir Henry Taylor's play, "A Sicilian Summer," deals with the Jews rather unfavorably. He makes them brigands and desperadoes, though why he should have thought it

necessary thus to label his brigands as Jews is inconceivable. G. Bernard Shaw does the same in his "Man and Superman." The brigand chief, Mendoza, is a Jew, and a Zionist, and a not unpleasing character. Yet, why a Jew? Henry A. Jones presents a fine Jewish character in "Judah Llewellyn," a dreamer-preacher, of honorable and heroic mould. On the other hand, Potter's dramatization of Du Maurier's "Trilby" emphasizes the undesirableness of Svengali, making him a charlatan and scoundrel of pronounced type.

FICTION.

The novelists of the century devoted considerable attention to the Jews, and depict them in both favorable and unfavorable light. Maria Edgeworth had treated them rather badly in some of her earlier novels, and had been remonstrated with in a letter from a Jewish lady. In response, she wrote "Harrington" (1817) as an apology to the Jews. In it she puts in the mouth of the hero an explanation, saying that he had read, from his childhood up, in all works of fiction, representations of the Jews as "hateful beings, and of unprincipled character." "Harrington" is a minor work, but it may take rank with the best of Miss Edgeworth's productions.

IVANHOE.

Sir Walter Scott was the first of the great novelists of the century to create Jewish characters of wide-spread interest. Mrs. Skene gives the following incident[1] as the cause. Scott had been ill, and "Mr. Skene was sitting at his bedside and trying to amuse him as well as he could in the intervals of pain. He happened to get on

[1] Lockhart's "Life of Scott," pp. 77-78.

the subject of the Jews, as he had observed them when he spent some time in Germany in his youth. Their situation had naturally made a strong impression, for in those days they retained their dress and manners entire, and were treated with considerable austerity by their Christian neighbors, being still locked up in their own quarter by great gates, and Mr. Skene, partly in seriousness and partly from the mere wish to turn his mind at that moment to something that might occupy and divert it, suggested that a group of Jews would be an interesting feature if he could bring them into his next novel. Upon the appearance of "Ivanhoe," he reminded Mr. Skene of the conversation, and said, 'You will find the book owes not a little to your German reminiscences.' "

While Scott was accurate in his description of the treatment which the Jews received, he was "unfortunate in naming his chief character Isaac of York, as at the time at which he places the action of his novel, viz., in 1194, the date of Richard's return, there were no Jews at York, owing to the scare caused by the massacre of 1190." [1] The character, Isaac of York, is built along conventional lines. He is made to be the usual timid, cringing money-lender, a mild and unheroic Shylock. Only once does he rise to noble proportions, when his daughter is threatened. The plea [2] he makes to Front-de-Boeuf for his child rings as splendid as true. It sounds again the note of the beautiful affection that

[1] See J. A. E., p. 395.
[2] Chapter XXII.

has characterized Jewish family life. "Take all you have asked, Sir Knight, take ten times more, reduce me to ruin and beggary if thou wilt, nay, pierce me with thy poinard, broil me on that furnace, but spare my daughter, deliver her in safety and honour." And Isaac was ready to back his words with his life.

In Rebecca, Scott has given a creation of exquisite beauty, "the sweetest character in the whole range of fiction," said Thackeray. The purity, modesty, dignity and courage of Rebecca are indeed a refreshing contrast. She stands forth prominently in the story, easily and by far the most distinguished character in it. And she is so sturdily Jewish. She feels keenly the degradation and humiliation which she suffers because of her religion. But she bears them with a calm resignation which her confidence in her faith gives to her. Her carriage during her trial[1] for sorcery and towards Brian de-Bois-Guilbert in his attentions toward her[2] won the admiration and respect of even the hard-hearted men who pronounced sentence upon her. She is an ideal figure of true Jewish womanhood, faithful in the defense of her people, her religion, and her honor. In many things she voices the sentiments of her people, and gives evidence that Scott had a sympathetic understanding of the position and feelings of the Jews. There are few characters in fiction that have been more highly praised, and few that deserve to be. One cannot help contrasting Rebecca and Jessica—the one dignified and faithful, the other frivolous and false. It would be impossible to associate the conduct of Jessica with the char-

[1] Chapter XXXVII.

[2] Chapter XXXIX.

acter of Rebecca. A romance might easily have sprung up between Ivanhoe and Rebecca, but Scott is correct in not permitting it.

It has been maintained,[1] with some degree of plausibility, that the original of Scott's Rebecca in "Ivanhoe" was Miss Rebecca Gratz, of Philadelphia. Miss Gratz was an intimate friend of Washington Irving's betrothed, and during the fatal illness of the latter, was with her and was thrown into frequent contact with Irving. He was much impressed with the nobility of her character and person. It was from Irving's description of Miss Gratz, given to Scott on his visit to Abbotsford, that the latter drew his Rebecca, even to the name, as the name Rebecca was not a common one among the Jews in England before the expulsion.

Thackeray admired Rebecca immensely, yet he could not refrain from poking fun. In a volume of Miscellanies, published 1850, he has a skit, "Rebecca and Rowena, a Romance upon a Romance." It is a continuation of Ivanhoe, in mock-heroic style, ridiculing the romantic glamor that surrounds Rebecca to the disparagement of Rowena. Thackeray on the whole was not friendly to the Jews, and more than once they were made to feel the point of the pen that painted snobs and snobbery so deliciously. In the burlesque "Codlingsby," the propensity for display, with which the Jews are charged, was broadly caricatured. He speaks of a carpet, in Raphael Mendoza's room, being of "white velvet, laid over with several webs of Aubusson, Ispahan and Axminster," and painted with flowers, arabesques and classic figures by leading artists of the day. "The

[1] The Century Magazine, 1882.

edges were wrought with seed pearls, and fringed with Valencienne lace and bullion."

"OLIVER TWIST" AND "OUR MUTUAL FRIEND."

The year that Queen Victoria ascended the throne "Oliver Twist" appeared, less than two decades after "Ivanhoe." It is a long swing of the pendulum from Rebecca to Fagin, and one wonders why Dickens, of all novelists, should have been guilty of the reaction. The creator of Little Nell and Tiny Tim was surely not without sympathy. The writer who wrought so sturdily for the oppressed and downtrodden, who achieved so much for prison reform, and for the amelioration of the institutional conditions of those who were the helpless victims of a cruelly hard social system, this writer took occasion to place a stigma upon a people who were in the midst of a struggle for the native rights of citizenship. It is more than probable that "Oliver Twist" intensified the struggle and delayed the victory of Jewish emancipation for at least a decade. The character of Fagin is a masterly presentation of a possible type of the underground criminal world of a great city. He is no better, and can be no worse, than Bill Sykes and Nancy of the same genus, or Carker, of a higher social level. He is a villain, a thief, a coward, an all but murderer. There is no criticism of the accuracy of the picture, but the great wrong is that his author labels him Jew, and presents him as a Jewish type. A Jew may be all that Fagin was, a thief and a teacher of thieves, but his being a Jew does not make him so. Yet the contrary impression is what Dickens created, even as Shakespeare had done before him, and his characteriza-

tion was accepted as readily. Shylock and Fagin have gone abroad as types, not only among English-speaking peoples, but throughout the world. The words have been incorporated into the languages of a dozen nations as synonymous of relentless usury and thievery. Indissolubly associated with them is the thought that these characters are true representatives of the people, whose name has been attached to them, the fruits of their customs, traditions and teachings. The monstrous wrong done to the Jews by these two creatures of the imagination is simply incalculable.

Dickens tried to make amends in a later novel, "Our Mutual Friend." Here is another Jewish character, Riah. He is an unconvincing, spineless saint. The pendulum swings too far the other way and Riah is unnaturally good. The whole atmosphere of this later work seems to justify the supposition that Dickens is trying to repair the wrong as far as he may. He pointedly makes Riah's virtues to be Jewish virtues; his patience, his submission, his unostentatious charity, his fidelity, his gratitude, and his humility are all credited to the Jewish people as characteristic. But as a characterization, Riah is weak and unappealing. He does not offset Fagin in the least. He is overdrawn. There is no strength to his personality. There is no attraction, no impulse for approval other than sentimental. In one thing only is there a touch of power to instruct and illumine. Riah is regarded as a grinding landlord by those who come in contact with him, because he must follow the bidding of Fledgley, while in reality he is the most tender-hearted of men. Dickens plainly intimates that many men are misjudged because of their

seeming wrongdoing, and this is the case with the Jews, whose real worth and character are not realized. "Our Mutual Friend" was Dickens' last complete work. Though it failed of its purpose, it was nobly intended and may well be placed as a credit to the memory of a man whose life was a blessing to his fellowmen.

"Daniel Deronda."

The Jews found a worthy exponent in George Eliot. This greatest of female novelists, in what is perhaps her greatest novel, deals with the Jewish question with understanding and sympathy. "Daniel Deronda" is the most elaborated of her productions. As she spent months in Florence seeking the material and the atmosphere to create a Savonarola, so she spent months in the study of Judaism and of the Jewish people, their customs and habits of life. She visited the synagogue. She familiarized herself with the literature and traditions of the Jews. This knowledge, far from repelling her, made her a conscious defender, and "Daniel Deronda" an intended protest against the conventional conception and treatment under which the Jews have suffered. In a letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe [1] she wrote, "As to the Jewish element in Deronda, I expected from first to last, in writing it, that it would create much stronger resistance, and even repulsion, than it has actually met with. But precisely because I felt that the usual attitude of Christians towards Jews is—I hardly know whether to say more impious or more stupid when viewed in the light of their professed principles—I there-

[1] Prefixed to Vol. I. of Boston Edition, Aldine Book Pub. Co., of Geo. Eliot's works.

fore felt urged to treat the Jews with such sympathy and understanding as my nature and knowledge could attain to." Happily, as she herself adds further on in the same letter, she was independent in material things and could refuse to "accommodate her writing to any standard except that of doing my best in what seemed to me most needful to be done."

But she is no blind partisan, she does not introduce a character, who is impossibly good, as a type of Judaism. Her characters are natural, normal human beings, just as their fellowmen of different religious faith are, men and women who have "hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is." In "Daniel Deronda" she has a number of Jewish figures, taken from different walks of life, and picturing different phases of the complex Jewish character. The pictures are painted without exaggeration, but with the truth and "large justice of the great artist." The Cohen family furnishes the humorous element, and it is just such a family as we may find in the middle class of the Jewish people. Ezra Cohen, the father, is an ordinary, commonplace business man, a familiar figure of prosperous mercantile life. His son, Jacob, exhibits the mental alertness common to Jewish children. The tender relations between Ezra Cohen and his aged mother again illustrate truly the beautiful home-life of the Jews. This is given also in the no less tender memory in which Mordecai and Mirah hold their dead parent. Kalonymos, the wanderer, and Ram, the book-

seller, "soaked through and through with the effect of the poverty and contempt which were the common heritage of most English Jews" before the emancipation period, may be dismissed with mere mention. So, too, Pash, the un-Jewish Jew,—the Jew who has no reverence and no faith—the representative, as Mr. Joseph Jacobs says, of "the Heine side of Jewry," whose wit is a heritage, but whose cynicism is an acquisition. Gideon and Lapidoth are Jews by the accident of birth only, in nothing more. Mirah is not quite an accurate representation of Jewish girlhood. She is steadfast in her religion, of noble character and tender strength, but she is tame. Klesmer, together with Mirah and Alcharisi, the mother of Deronda, represent the artistic element. Alcharisi is an anomalous type of a Jewish mother, who sacrifices her motherhood for the sake of art. Rebellious against the to-her-confining shackles of the "Law," she breaks them asunder, forsaking family, faith and child. The supreme renunciation to the claims of her genius raises her to tragic proportions and makes her an imposing figure. Yet the "Law" is stronger than she, and in the end she yields to the will of a father many years in his grave. She calls back her son, from what she pronounces freedom, to the heritage of his ancestors. The scene in which she reveals to Deronda her history and his Jewish birth is an intensely thrilling one. In it the author puts into Deronda's mouth one of the finest sentences in the book. "It is no shame to have Jewish parents—the shame is to disown it."

Deronda and Mordecai[1] are the central personali-

[1] For the original of Mordecai, see appendix added to this chapter.

ties in the Jewish portion of the story. Deronda is an ideal as a gentle man, a modern Sir Galahad, capable of every delicacy of feeling, with an exhaustless sympathy that impelled him toward all unfortunate—a "passion for people who are pelted." But he lacks virile initiative. He needs some external event or influence that would urge him to a definite line of action. He found it in the person of Mordecai. Geo. Eliot evidently believed in spiritual telepathy, in the speaking of soul to soul. The enthusiasm of Mordecai kindled an answering spark in Deronda and his life's mission was revealed to him. Mordecai is one of the finest characterizations in fiction. He is the embodiment of the spiritual aspiration of Israel. He is an Isaiah *redivivus*. He is content to "earn a miserable pittance by handicraft and keep his soul serene." In this he resembles the great teachers of Israel in Talmudic days, and is a reminder of Spinoza, whose hands ground lenses but whose vision beheld the infinities of immaterial realms. Mordecai is an ancient prophet, set down amidst the sordid surroundings of poverty in modern London. But he lives in a world of visions. His faith is the supreme fact of his life, and his whole desire is to find some one who will follow in his footsteps, hold his belief, and carry on the work which his disease-enfeebled body precludes his doing. He finds this person in Deronda. The meetings of the two at the bridge (chapter XL.) is one of the most impressive portrayals in fiction. Mordecai compels Deronda's attention and acquiescence by the intensity of his own emotion.

The vision of Mordecai is nothing else than the return of the Jews to Palestine and the restoration of the

holy land as the home of a Jewish nation. However truly otherwise George Eliot interpreted the current of Jewish sentiment and thought, and she has done so to a wonderful degree, in this she is mistaken. The hope of Israel does not lie in a rehabilitated Jewish nation. The Messianic ideal of the Jewish people is not to be found in a resurrected political entity. As Mordecai himself is made to say so well, "the *Shemah,* wherein we briefly confess the divine Unity, is the chief devotional exercise of the Hebrew; and this made our religion the fundamental religion for the whole world; for the divine Unity embraced as its consequence the ultimate unity of mankind" (chapter LX.). It is the unity of mankind that modern Israel works for, waits upon and when need be, suffers for. This unity is not to be hastened by resuming a national separateness. On the contrary, Israel dispersed is the binding link of all nations, the symbol that as God is One, so are all mankind one.

George Eliot's knowledge of things Jewish is full and thorough. Her references to men, customs, traditions, usages, services, holy days, and her use of terms and phrases are accurate, with some few negligible exceptions. The very names she gives her characters are in keeping with the thought and atmosphere of the work. The name "Klesmer" of the picturesque musician whose eccentricities of dress were but the expressions of his genius, is typical of her thoroughness. The word "Klesmer" is the Yiddish (Judaeo-German) for musicians. In reality, in pure Hebrew, it means "instruments of music," but by an unconscious metonomy it was used poplarly to denote the musicians themselves.

Her description of the service in the synagogue on Friday night, aside from one slight error, is beyond criticism. Her knowledge, her sympathy and her understanding have enabled her to produce a work which is a fair and just picture of Jewish life in its various phases, from Lapidoth, the sordid gambler, to Mordecai, the saintly idealist. It is not surprising that the general world failed to understand, and turned coldly from it, failed to understand, because they will not, that there are among Jews differences in culture, education, manners, customs and modes of life just as there are among other peoples. The Jews do not ask to be judged as a whole by their best, but they do object to the custom, that universally obtains, of being judged as a whole by their worst.

The character of Deronda is a peculiar one. Bred from infancy as an English gentleman and a Christian, he declares that he is glad when he discovers he is a Jew by birth. George Eliot doubtless wished to enforce the lesson of the strength of heredity and tradition, even as in the case with Deronda's mother, who yields at last to the will of her dead father. But Deronda has been prepared for the event. His companionship with Mordecai, his love for Mirah, had shaped his thoughts and made him ready for the change. Both characters, Alcharisi and Deronda, have their counterparts in later works of fiction. Walter Besant's "Rebel Queen" reproduces the former. Madame Elvirah is another Alcharisi who desires to break away from the "yoke of the law," as it is expressed in marital obedience. She separates from her husband in order to devote her life and her fortune to the "Cause" of woman's equality. Incidentally her husband, Manuel Elvirah,

is another prophet, dreamer, idealist, a wood-carver by trade, but his soul aflame with a project for the redemption of mankind. The incident of Deronda is recalled by its opposite in a novel called "The Limb." It was published anonymously, the author describing himself on the title page as "X. L." Here the plot is based upon a Christian being brought up as a Jew, who discovers in the end that he is really a Christian. The novel is a rather striking one and there is in it some exceptional handling.

Other novelists of the century touched upon Jewish subjects or introduced Jewish characters into their works. Oliver Goldsmith depicts a Jewish journalist in "The Haunch of Venison." In Charles Reade's "It is Never too Late to Mend," the Jewish character is secondary but quite distinct. Bulwer-Lytton introduces Baron Levy, a money-lender, into "My Novel." Later in the century the interest of writers centered around the problem arising from the persecutions of the Jews and the inhuman treatment of them by the governments of Russia, Roumania, Galicia, Lithuania, etc. Thoroughly medieval in character, they have created anew the "Jewish question," i. e., the relations and position of a people who, though living in a land for centuries, are not accorded the elemental rights of humanity or of citizenship, solely because of religious bigotry. The sordid external conditions to which the Jew is condemned in these countries contrast sharply with the unblunted intellectual vigor and the unweakened idealism that often flame forth from the most unexpected sources. Katherine Cecil Thurston expresses it well.[1] Speaking

[1] "The Circle," p. 28.

to a Russian Jew, she says, "Do you know that this father of yours, with his philosophies, his theories, his strangeness, may have gone critically near to making a career—to being a great teacher or a great leader? Do you know that suppressed races burst out at intervals like volcanoes—in a flash of flame—in a flash of genius?" The tone of these later English writers is generally sympathetic. Perhaps the traditional national hatred between England and Russia may account for it somewhat, but we would rather credit the heart with good than evil motives—as e. g., when Joseph Hatton, in "By the Order of the Czar," writes the tragic story of a Jewish girl, Anna Klopstock, the Queen of the Ghetto, and handles the persecutions of the Jews so boldly that the book is prohibited in Russia.

The romantic side of the tragedy is pictured by Dorothea Gerard in "Orthodox" and "Recha," wherein she depicts the unhappy love affairs of Jewish women and Austrian army officers. In her latest novel, "An Improbable Idyl," there are scenes of Jewish life in Galicia, where the mean and degraded conditions of their existence are portrayed with rather a hard brush, though the book has a charm of style that atones for its unpleasant character. In "Broken Playthings," C. F. Keary has likewise an unhappy tale of misery to unfold. In it the Jewish element is not important, but the book touches the everlasting question of marriage and the forces that go to make it foredoomed to misery. One of these he gives in the Jewish ancestry of one of the parties. Winfred Grahame in "The Zionists" also takes a fling at the Jewish-Christian marriage. Du Maurier brings in Svengali, in "Trilby," as a Jewish villain that is not altogether a villain. Yet he is by no means a

lovable character. Mathew Shiel in "The Lord of the Sea" has a hero in a sort of Jewish naval Napoleon, who undertakes to subjugate the sea. It is a fantastic romance, something on the order of Verne's "Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea," in which science and invention are used with startling effect. Rudyard Kipling has two short stories in the volume called "Life's Handicap." The one is "The Wandering Jew," Jewish in name only. The other is "The Jews of Shushan," an inconsequential story, but with the Kipling touch.

The religious element appealed to other writers beside George Eliot. Mrs. Craigie in "The School for Saints," and its sequel, "Robert Orange," has much discussion of religious flavor, and D'Israeli is introduced as a character. William Hale White in "Clara Hapgood" has written a book on religious problems. In it is Baruch Cohen, who, though pantheistically inclined and with a leaning towards the lesser socialism that borders on anarchy, yet is on the whole an admirable character. Hall Caine has a story of Moroccan Jewish life in "The Scapegoat," in which he illustrates the thesis of atonement. Marie Corelli in "Temporal Power," discusses religious problems. The work has in it elements of Jewish interest.

A number of novels based on historic episodes, most of them on Biblical or Palestinean incidents, were written by various authors. "Zillah, a Tale of the Holy City," by Horace Smith, appeared early in the century. It was very popular and ran through no less than seven editions. Rev. Geo. W. Croly's "Salathiel" [1] is a powerful story of the destruction of Jerusalem. It has a

[1] Republished under title "Tarry Thou till I Come."

"Wandering Jew" plot. G. W. Melville wrote "The Gladiators," "a tale of Rome and Judea," and Mrs. J. B. Webb, "Naomi, or the Last Days of Jerusalem." [1] H. Rider Haggard exercised his weird fantasy along this line. The "Pear Maiden" is a tale of the fall of Jerusalem, and "The World's Desire" is a romance of the Israelitish exodus from Egypt. Mr. Haggard introduced a Jewish character into "Benita," one of his later African stories. Jacob Meyer, the Jew in "Benita," differs from many of his confreres in that he is not a money-lender, nor is he distinctly Jewish as far as religion is concerned. He is a German Jew of free-thinking tendencies, a bold materialist, with a good brain but no heart. He is a strong character but not a pleasant one. An agreeable contrast is Charles Whistler's "For King or Empress?". It is a story of the pre-expulsion period, of the time of Stephen and Maud, when the terror of the early English persecutions had not yet been felt to the full by the Jews. Mr. Whistler speaks of the story of "Little St. William of Norwich," the boy martyr whose death brought about the massacre at Norwich in the middle of the twelfth century. His treatment of the Jews is just and fair. In the preface he says: "Their influence on the well-being and progress of England, and the civilizing power they exerted during the first century of their residence in this country, owing to their close connection with continental centers of learning, cannot be overlooked." The two leading Jewish characters of the story, Jorvin of Norwich and his son Leo, are truly and naturally drawn, and their part in the narrative makes pleasant reading.

[1] For list of novels on these themes, see Appendix A.

Poets are prophets. They see with a keener eye and a truer vision than the average mortal.

POETRY. The poets of this century beheld ideals of faith and devotion and loving loyalty, where others saw only obstinacy and stiff-necked stubbornness. They sing of Israel in a noble strain. Shelley, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Byron have each made the Jews the subject of their verse on one or more occasions, and in each instance in a manner that is pleasing. Wordsworth's "Song for the Wandering Jew" breaks away from the conventional sectarian legend and sounds a note of universal aspiration. His modern version takes much of the sting out of "The Prioresse's Tale." One of his finest poems is "A Jewish Family." The incident[1] which caused him to write it occurred in 1828, when travelling along the banks of the Rhine. He met a poor Jewess and her three children. It was a fast day, and seeing that they did not eat, he offered to share his meal with them. They declined it, and the incident inspired Wordsworth to write the poem. In a prefatory note he said that "though exceedingly poor and in rags," they were not less beautiful than he made them. The poem closes with these stanzas:

"Two lovely sisters still and sweet
As flowers, stand side by side;
Their soul-subduing looks might cheat
The Christian of his pride;
Such beauty hath the Eternal poured
Upon them not forlorn,
Though of a lineage once abhorred,
Nor yet redeemed from scorn.

[1] See article "The Jew in English Poetry and Drama," by Charles Mabon, J. Q. R., Vol. XI., p. 424.

Mysterious safeguard, that, in spite
Of poverty and wrong,
Doth here preserve a living light,
From Hebrew fountains sprung;
That gives this ragged group to cast
Around the dell a gleam
Of Palestine, of glory past,
And proud Jerusalem."

Shelley devotes Canto VII. of his "Queen Mab" to an ideal version of the Wandering Jew legend, and George Eliot in "The Spanish Gypsy," an early dramatic poem, touches upon the same topic. Coleridge was a close friend of Hyman Hurwitz, a Jewish author of some note. He became acquainted with Jewish traditions through this source, and showed his knowledge in "The Friend," which has versifications of three Talmudical tales. He also translated two of his friend's Hebrew poems, "Israel's Lament" and "The Tears of a Grateful People." Byron attuned his harp to "Hebrew Melodies." They were written at the request of a friend, Lord Kinnaird. A singer and composer, Isaac Nathan by name, set the "Melodies" to music and for a time they were used in the synagogue service in London. Though Byron later did not regard these "Melodies" with satisfaction, yet they are by no means among the least of his lesser poems. Not all that are printed under this division, as usually given in his works, are specifically Jewish in thought or allusion. Many deal with Biblical and Palestinean themes. The gem of the collection is the short poem of three stanzas, "Oh, Weep for Those." It pictures truly the *Weltschmerz* of Israel. There is no finer description of the Jew's unhappy experience than the closing stanza,

"Tribe of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest!
The wild-dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind his country—Israel but the grave!"

Scott and Burns have occasional reference to the Jews in their poetical works. An exception to this friendly attitude is to be found in George Crabbe, a minor poet of the period. In a poem, the "Borough," 1810, he gives a very unfavorable picture of the Jews of England of his day, though he does relent enough to say:

"A part there are, whom doubtless man might trust,
Worthy as wealthy, pure, religious, just."

He continues his attack, however. One passage is of interest because of a curious footnote that he added. He had said:

"Jews are with us, but far unlike to those,
Who, led by David, warr'd with Israel's foes;
Unlike to those whom his imperial son
Taught truths divine,—the preacher Solomon:
Nor war nor wisdom yield our Jews delight,
They will not study,—they dare not fight."

The poem is hardly more than mere doggerel, and Crabbe himself doubtless felt the inaccuracy of the last line at least. At no time could it with justice be said of the Jews that they do not study. As for fighting, it is rather unfortunate for the poet that just at that time Jewish prize-fighters were very much in evidence, so he adds, in a note to this last line: "Some may object to this assertion, to whom I beg leave to answer that I do not use the word *fight* in the sense of the Jew, Mendoza." He does not, however, say in what sense he does mean it.

BROWNING.

Robert Browning is the chief among the greater poets of the century who devoted considerable attention to things of Jewish interest. Like George Eliot he became versed in Jewish tradition and literature, and was able to read his Old Testament in Hebrew. Like her too this knowledge made him friendly and sympathetic. He was given to earnest thought on the profound questions of life, and many of his poems are religious and philosophic studies. He differs from Tennyson in that the latter felt more deeply, while he reasoned the more closely. Tennyson was the more spiritual, Browning the more intellectual. He was a theologian of broad compass, and his coincidence with Jewish teaching is seen by the fact that both emphasize a man's deed rather than his creed as a criterion of his claims to nobler life both here and hereafter. It is also significant that it is in two poems of Jewish interest that he gives his views on two of the most important phases of world-philosophy. In "Rabbi Ben Ezra" and "Jochanan Hakadosh," by which historic names the poems are known, he expresses his convictions of life as duty and destiny.

Rabbi Abraham Ibn[1] Ezra was a great Jewish scholar and writer of the twelfth century. He spent some time in England during the year 1158, and while there wrote several works.[2] It is not certain, nor of moment, whether Browning was acquainted with the

[1] "Ibn" and "Ben," respectively Arabic and Hebrew, both mean "son of."

[2] See supra, Chap. III.

works of the original, at least of the name, of his poem. He pictures the venerable Rabbi in soliloquy, viewing life as a whole, the pleasures of its youth and the experience of its age. Man is more than bird or beast, but it is aspiration, not achievement, that lifts him to the higher level. Care and struggle are the stimuli of the soul. God is the Potter, we are the clay. We cannot see the meaning of the wheel or of the touches of the Potter's hand or instrument. We only know that "our times are in Thy hand," and pray that He may "perfect the cup as planned."

"Jochanan Hakadosh" (John, the Saint) is the story of a venerable Rabbi whose end was approaching, but who was granted another year of life by the devotion of his disciples, four of whom gave each three months of their lives to the venerated teacher. He enjoys the advantage of their emotions as well as their years, and thus is enabled to judge of life in all its phases. He finds many vain things in life, but life is not vain. There are several Talmudic legendary tales given in connection with the poem, and some others in a volume called "Jocoseria." The "Doctor," one of the Dramatic Idyls of the second series, is also based on a Rabbinical legend. "Ben Karshook's Wisdom" is an amplification of a Rabbinical maxim, that a man should repent one day before his death. As no one knows the day of his death, each day is the one that a man should turn to God. "Fillipo Baldinucci" tells the story of the petty persecutions of the Jews of a small village by a painter, who annoys and cheats them, and who is astounded when the Rabbi's son, showing a broad tolerance, buys his pictures of the Madonna and

the Crucifixion. "Holy Cross Day" is a protest against the Church practice of compelling the Jews to attend service and listen to a conversionistic sermon. The protest is put into the mouth of a Roman Jew, who soliloquises while he is at church, hearing but not heeding the sermon. No Jew desires a stronger arraignment of the injustice and hypocrisy of the custom than Browning gives in these lines:

> "Thine too is the Cause! and not more thine
> Than ours, is the work of these dogs and swine
> Whose life laughs through and spits at their creed,
> Who maintain thee in word and defy thee in deed,"

nor a finer expression of the truth that

> "By the torture, prolonged, from age to age,
> By the infamy, Israel's heritage,
> By the Ghetto's plague, by the garb's disgrace,
> By the badge of shame, by the felon's place,
> By the branding tool, the bloody whip,
> And the summons to Christian fellowship,
> We boast our proof that at least the Jew
> Would wrest Christ's name from the Devil's crew."

The later poets of the century exhibit likewise a friendly attitude. Mathew Arnold wrote a noble elegiac poem on Heine's grave, and Swinburne a sonnet on the Russian persecutions of the Jews. Similarly Canon Rawnsley, in a sonnet entitled "Christmas 1905," utters a deep lament for the sufferings of Russian Jews. These, and other poems, give evidence that the fierceness of the feeling against the Jews is being softened and he is coming to be regarded more and more as a normal human brother, doing his share of the world's work.

MISCELLANEA.

In other avenues of literary activity, such as books of history and travel, essays and works of technical character, the Jews received much, and on the whole, favorable and friendly notice. Their customs, their religion, their history and their present circumstance attracted the attention of many writers, with the result, as always heretofore, that those who came to know the Jewish people as they really are, to understand them and their ideals, became their protagonists and defenders. Those who attacked them were those, mainly, who accepted the hearsay evidence and the conventional prejudiced opinion concerning them.

In history, Dean Henry Milman's "History of the Jews," which appeared in 1829, is easily the first and most important. His story of the long centuries of Israel's existence was one that combined in rare degree wide knowledge and profound research with an irresistible charm of style. His friendliness and broad tolerance brought down bitter attacks upon him, to such a degree that he felt called upon to defend himself in the preface of the third edition of his work. A year later John E. Blunt had written a "History of the Jews in England" that likewise takes high place as an authority on the subject. "The Status of the Jews in England," by Charles Egan, contains much historical matter, and sentiments favorable to the Jews. A "History of the Jews" appeared from the pen of H. Ewald in 1869.

Works on general history contain references to the position and influence of the Jews during the time when they were ground under the heel of tyrannical monarchs

and ignorant peoples. Dr. H. C. Lea has written an opus magnum, "A History of the Inquisition of Spain," in four volumes. It is a work of wonderful scholarship, and of unquestionable authority. He has probed to the bottom the story of this, the most execrable institution that has stained the annals of mankind. The Jews naturally are much in evidence in a history of the Inquisition. His summary of the treatment and conduct of the Jews during the middle ages is just and generous. Among other things he says (Vol. I., p. 35), "The vicissitudes endured by the Jewish race, from the period when Christianity became dominant, may well be a subject of pride to the Hebrew, and of shame to the Christian. The annals of mankind afford no more brilliant instance of a steadfastness under adversity, of unconquerable strength through centuries of hopeless oppression, of inexhaustible elasticity in recuperating from apparent destruction, and of conscientious adherence to a faith whose only portion in this life was contempt and suffering."

Similarly Lecky and Draper accord credit to the Jews for their steadfastness to their faith and their service to humanity. In his "History of Rationalism in Europe," Lecky says:

> "Certainly the heroism of the defenders of every other creed fades into insignificance before this martyr people, who for thirteen centuries confronted all the evils that the fiercest fanaticism could devise, enduring obloquy and spoilation, and the violation of the dearest ties, and the infliction of the most hideous sufferings, rather than abandon

their faith. For these were no ascetic monks, dead to all the hopes and passions of life, but were men who appreciated intensely the worldly advantages they relinquished, and whose affections had become all the more lively on account of the narrow circle in which they were confined. Enthusiasm and the strange phenomena of ecstasy, which have exercised so large an influence in the history of persecution, which have nerved so many martyrs with superhuman courage, and have deadened or destroyed the anguish of so many fearful tortures, were here almost unknown. Persecution came to the Jewish nation in its most horrible forms, yet surrounded by every circumstance of petty annoyance that could destroy its grandeur, and it continued for centuries their abiding portion. But above all this the genius of that wonderful people rose supreme. While those around them were grovelling in the darkness of besotted ignorance; while juggling miracles and lying relics were the themes on which almost all Europe was expatiating; while the intellect of Christendom, enthralled by countless superstitions, had sunk into a deadly torpor, in which all love of enquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning, and stimulating progress with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers; while they were only second to the Moors in the cultivation of natural science. They were also the chief interpreters

to Western Europe of Arabian learning. (Vol. II., pp. 270-271.)

The terrific persecutions of the Jews by Russia in 1881, and at intervals since then, aroused the attention of the entire world. Renewed interest in the Jews was awakened because, fleeing from the Russian hell, they sought refuge in large numbers among the various civilized nations. Various productions regarding them appeared. Among those who ranged themselves against the Jews were Arnold White, W. Evans Gordon, and Goldwin Smith. The last named is a sort of male virago who snaps at everything. He has been humorously renamed "Scoldwin" Smith. In the Nineteenth Century, November, 1882, he fulminates against the Jews with much language, but little argument. Arnold White, in "The Modern Jew," sounds a note of warning against the power and the materialism of the Jews. He rings the changes on the old silly charges of the wealth of the Jews, their control of the markets, the press and the exchanges. "The national life" (of England), he says, will be "stifled by the substitution of material aims for those which . . . have formed the unselfish and imperial objects of the Englishmen who have made the Empire." On the other hand, one of the finest works of the new century is by G. F. Abbott, called "Israel in Europe." It is a survey of the history of the Jews, of the restrictions and limitations placed upon them by the various nations of Europe, including England, and the hardships they have been made to endure. The work covers the ground from the very early ages up to and inclusive of the English Alien Act of 1904. Mr. Abbott read widely in both Christian and Jewish sources. He

marshalls his facts in a calm, dispassionate way, with the logic of a Macaulay and the scholarship of a Lecky, and makes out a splendid case in behalf of the Jewish people. A work of similar kind, but more philosophic in style, was published some years earlier, in 1895. It is "Israel among the Nations," and is the translation of the French "Israel Chez les Nations," by Anatole Leroy Beaulieu. It is also pro-Jewish, though the author does not hesitate to reprove on occasion. But he discriminates. Two productions, directly identified with the Russian persecutions, are "The New Exodus," in 1892, by Harold Frederic, and "Within the Pale," 1900, by Michael Davit. Both Mr. Davit and Mr. Frederic visited the scenes of their stories, and their narratives are the testimony of personal experience and investigation.

Of a more peaceful nature are the works, somewhat religious and technical in character, which have been written by Christian scholars and authors about the customs and observances of the Jews and their religion, and the books of travel, which introduce descriptions of Jewish life and conditions, especially in Oriental countries. In 1816, John Allen published "Modern Judaism, or a brief account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites and Customs of the Jews of Modern Times." This was followed in 1820 by a larger work, in two volumes, by William Brown, called "The Antiquities of the Jews, Carefully Compiled from Authentic Sources, and Their Customs Illustrated from Modern Travels." It is of semi-religious character and was a standard work in its day. In 1844, E. P. Barrows published a volume on the "Manners and Customs of the Jews." A close

study of the Jewish faith, especially as it is expressed in the prayer-book and service at the Synagogue, was made by the Rev. George H. Box. The fruits of his study were made public in two productions, "The Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer-book," and "The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue," this second volume was written in conjunction with the Rev. W. Oesterly. Both volumes are extremely sympathetic in tone. It is surprising, as it is gratifying, that two Christian clergymen could so enter into the spirit of Jewish teaching, and then, what is more, give so fair and just a presentation. Similarly, Louise Houghton entered into the spirit of the ethical value of the Jewish law, and in "Hebrew Life and Thought," has given an excellent exposition of it. This is an instructive volume. In "The Cross Triumphant," Florence Morse Kingsley attempts to give an account of the rise of Christianity from an Hebraic point of view. It is a study of hereditary influences.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

In the Fortnightly Review for April 1, 1866, Mr. George Henry Lewes prefaces an article on Spinoza with an account of a philosophers' club, where he first made acquaintance with the doctrines of the Hebrew thinker, and which resembles in every particular the club at the "Hand and Banner" in the sixth book of "Daniel Deronda." The leading spirit of Mr. Lewes' club was a German Jew named Cohn or Kohn, whom he describes in words which might be applied almost without alteration to Mordecai. Mr. Lewes says of Cohn:

"We all admired him as a man of astonishing subtlety and logical force, no less than of sweet personal worth. He remains in my memory as a type of philosophic dignity. A calm, meditative, amiable man, by trade a journeyman watchmaker, very poor, with weak eyes and chest, grave and gentle in demeanour, incorruptible even by the seductions of vanity; I habitually think him in connection with Spinoza almost as much on account of his personal worth as because to him I owe my first acquaintance with the Hebrew thinker. My admiration of him was of that enthusiastic temper which in youth we feel for our intellectual leaders. I loved his weak eyes and low voice; I venerated his intellect. He was the only man I did not contradict in the impatience of argument. An immense pity and a fervid indignation filled me as I came away from his attics in one of the Holborn courts, where I had seen him in the pinching poverty of his home, with his German wife and two little black-eyed children; indignantly I railed against society which could allow so great an intellect to withdraw itself from nobler work and waste the precious hours in mending watches. But he was wise in his resignation, thought I in my young indignation. Life was hard to him, as to all of us; but he was content to earn a miserable pittance by handicraft, and kept his soul serene. I learnt to understand him better when I learnt the story of Spinoza's life.

"Cohn, as may be supposed, early established his supremacy in our club. A magisterial intellect always makes itself felt. Even those who differed from him most widely paid voluntary homage to his power." (From "Jewish Ideals and Other Essays," by Joseph Jacobs, Lon., 1896, pp. 68-70.)

CHAPTER VIII.

From Eighteen Hundred to Date (*Continued*).

Jewish Literary Activity.

As the status of the Jew as a citizen and as the subject of literary attention visibly improved in the nineteenth century, forming the brightest in the annals of his history, so also his own share, as author, presents a brilliant advance over preceding centuries. His activity is visible in every department of literature. Politics, poetry, drama, fiction, essay, travel, history, law, medicine, economics, and all the range of technical topics incidental to professional avocations, are handled by Jewish writers. The recuperative power of their Jewish spirit and the resiliency of their intellectual vigor are clearly shown in the ardor with which they entered into the arena of literature. This fact refutes likewise the old, yet unwearied, charge of materialism that is made against them by those who antagonize, but who realize how almost useless is an appeal to-day to religious bigotry and superstitious fears. The Jews, having won their victory in the struggle for emancipation and having entered thereby into full brotherhood in the civil rights of the English people, took their place in the national life, entering with fervid patriotism into every phase of it. Some of the brightest minds and most valuable additions to the literature of England can be cred-

ited to them in this period, and it is safe to venture the prophecy that, no serious political or other national reaction occurring, their contributions to the intellectual, spiritual and literary treasury of the English nation will increase in numbers, value and worth, even as they have increased with every decade since their emancipation.

POLITICAL WRITINGS.

A political writer of some note very early in the century was Lewis Goldsmith. He did not participate in the contest which the Jews waged. He published, in 1801, a book called "Crimes of Cabinets," in which he told some rather plain truths about ministers. He was indicted for sedition and libel and fled to France for safety. In Paris, he published an English journal called the "Argus," in which he continued his attacks upon the British Cabinet. Finding, however, that the French authorities were negotiating to hand him over to the English Government, Goldsmith forestalled their action by voluntarily returning to England. His offenses were not of a very deep nature, and after a trial, that was merely formal, he was discharged. His trenchant pen then turned against his would-be betrayers, and he drew some very powerful pictures of Napoleon and his court in several works, "A Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte," and "A Secret History of Bonaparte's Diplomacy." Goldsmith was a journalist and political writer of much force. His powers of satire and invective were great, though his writing was marred by a somewhat inflated Johnsonese style.

Napoleon indirectly exercised an influence on the fortunes of the Jews in England. In 1806 he had con-

voked a Sanhedrin of the Jews of France and Italy to define the relation of the Jewish civil and matrimonial laws to those of the French nation, and the attitude of the Jewish law generally toward modern legislation. The answer given by the representatives of the Jews so pleased the Emperor that he decreed that these declarations should have legal force throughout the Empire. To enforce the decisions thereunder he organized the system of religious consistories, which remained in vogue until the separation of Church and State in France in very recent years. The result was to put the synagogue practically on the same footing as the church, as a recognized and integral portion of the French nation. The effect of this action was felt in no small degree in England, both by Jews and Christians. It became a fighting basis for the Jews in their political struggle. The first indication of it was in a volume that appeared in London in 1807, as "Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin, etc." It was translated from the French original and given a preface and illustrative notes by F. D. Kirwan. Other publications pro and con appeared. Prominent among the Jewish authors in this cause were Dr. Barnard Van Oven, Sir Francis Henry Goldsmith, and Sir David Salomons. Sir Francis Goldsmith wrote a spirited pamphlet, in 1830, "Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews." It was a bold, yet modest and admirable statement of the Jewish position. He followed this up in 1831, with another publication, a series of letters making "A Reply to the Arguments against the Enfranchisement of the Jews," as the work was called. Sir Francis wrote a number of pamphlets of similar nature which attracted consider-

able attention. He was a graceful and forcible writer. He published also, in 1835, "A Scheme of Peerage Reform, with Reasons for the Change." He entered Parliament in 1860 and became a valued member.

Another strong Jewish champion was Sir David Salomons. He had been a writer on financial matters, having written several volumes on the subject, and also a "History of the Jews of Damascus," when, having been elected to Parliament, and being unable to take his seat and cast his vote, he put the contest into concrete form, an *argumentum ad hominem,* so to say. He printed an address, "The case of David Salomons," and wrote two pamphlets on "Parliamentary Oaths" and "The Altering of Oaths." Dr. Van Oven contributed two works to the literature of the contest, "An Appeal to the British Nation in behalf of the Jews," 1829, and "Ought Baron Rothschild sit in Parliament?" in 1847. Mr. Hyman Hurwitz, professor of Hebrew in the University of London, published a denial of certain misstatements made by a member of Parliament about the Jews, in a "Letter Addressed to Isaac Goldsmith, F. R. S., Chairman," in 1833.

THE DRAMA.

Though often the subject of dramatic representation, and oftener of dramatic misrepresentation, and supplying in considerable measure the talent of dramatic interpretation, the Jews have not, until recent years, figured numerously as dramatic writers. In the first third of the century, C. Z. Barnett wrote two plays that had some vogue. They were based on the history of the Rothschild family, and were called "The Rise of the Rothschilds, or the Honest Jew of Frankfort," and

"The Ways of Our Tribe, or the Rich Man of Frankfort." James Davis (known as Owen Hall), was a journalist with dramatic leanings. He was editor of a society paper, "The Bat," and also assistant editor of Galignani's "Messenger" in Paris. He wrote a number of comic operas, some of which had an enormous success, among them being "A Gaiety Girl," "An Artist's Model," "The Geisha," "A Greek Slave" and "Florodora." Sir Augustus Harris was a successful actor, manager and playwright. He wrote a number of plays, some in collaboration with Petit and Hamilton. Among them were "The World," "Youth," "Human Nature," "A Run of Luck," "The Spanish Armada," "A Million of Money," "The Prodigal Daughter," "A Life of Pleasure," and "The Derby Winner." The last named scored a success in America under the name "The Sporting Duchess." Leopold Lewis was a dramatist of considerable power. He made the English version of Erckman-Chatrain's "Le Juif Polonais," which Sir Henry Irving played under the title of "The Bells." Among his original plays are "The Wandering Jew," "Give a Dog a Bad Name," and "The Foundlings." He also wrote a number of short stories under the name of "A Peal of Merry Bells," published 1880, and conducted for a while, in connection with Alfred Thompson, a monthly magazine called "The Mask." Charles Malcolm Salaman was a dramatist of versatile power. His dramatic works are mostly comedies, among them "Deceivers Ever," "Boycotted," "Dimity's Dilemma," "Both Sides of the Question," and "A Modern Eve." He issued a volume of poems in 1879, "Ivan's Lovequest and other Poems," and wrote verses to many of his father's

musical compositions. He also is the author of a popular book, "Woman—through a Man's Eyeglass." Arthur Benham gave promise of being a playwright of power, but he died in his twentieth year, after having written two dramas, "The County," and "The Awakening."

Among the most successful of modern dramatists is Charles Klein. He was born in London, in 1867, and educated at the North London Collegiate School. He has written a number of plays, uniformly successful, "A Mile a Minute," "The District Attorney," the libretto of "El Capitan," "Dr. Belgraff," "The Charlatan," "A Royal Rogue," "Hon. John Grigsby," "The Auctioneer," "Mr. Pickwick," "The Music Master" and "The Lion and the Mouse." The last named was one of the successes of the American stage, and has been re-made into a novel of same title. It deals with American conditions of the rapid rise of a man to enormous wealth and his whole absorption into the art of getting money, overriding all obstacles of every kind, controlling markets, railways, legislatures, and senates. He plots the ruin of a righteous judge simply because the latter has made decisions adversely affecting his schemes. He is foiled by the daughter of the judge, who enters his service as a private secretary, her identity unknown to him, and who is loved by his son. The leading character has been supposed to be a portrayal of an American multi-millionaire, whose name is well known. The "Music Master" [1] is a beautiful and tender

[1] A noteworthy coincidence is that this play, which has been perhaps the finest and most successful dramatic presentation within recent years, was written by a Jew, Mr. Klein, staged by a Jew, Mr. Belasco, and the title role acted by a Jew, Mr. Warfield.

story of a father who, through yearning over his lost child, whom he discovers in a young lady to whom he is giving music lessons, does not disclose his identity through fear of affecting her position.

Another successful playwright is Alfred Sutro, born 1865. He began his literary career with translations of dramas in French, mostly Maeterlinck's works. Starting out for himself, he produced "The Chili Widow," 1896, in collaboration with Arthur Bourchier. Then, alone, he produced "Cave of Illusion," 1900, "Women in Love," 1902, "Foolish Virgins," 1904, "The Walls of Jericho," 1904, "A Marriage has been Arranged," 1904, "The Gutter of Time," 1905, "A Game of Chess," 1905, "A Maker of Men," 1905, "The Man on the Kerb," 1907, "The Perfect Lover," 1906, "The Fascinating Mr. Vanderveldt," 1906. Sutro's career is interesting. A prosperous merchant, he gave up mercantile life, as soon as a competence was secured, in order to give all his time and energy to literature. He is a consummate interpreter of Maeterlinck, and a brilliantly successful playwright

POETRY.

Among the Jewish poets of the early part of the century was Isaac Gompertz. He was a poet of considerable merit, and was classed by Dr. Jamieson[1] with Dryden, Pope and Gay. He wrote "June, or Light and Shade," a poem in six parts, 1815, "The Modern Antique, or the Muse in Costume of Queen Anne," 1813, and "Devon, a Poem." The first Jewish Englishwoman to become distinguished as an authoress was

[1] "Grammar of Rhetoric," p. 357.

Miss Emma Lyon (Mrs. Emma Henry). She published a volume of poems in 1812, which were exceedingly well received by the reviewers of the day and proved very successful. Mrs. Marion Moss Hartog was also an authoress of note. At sixteen years of age she published, in conjunction with her sister Cecile, a book of poems, entitled "Early Efforts." In 1840, she published three volumes of tales, called "The Romance of Jewish History," which was followed by "Tales from Jewish History." The latter years of her life were occupied in magazine and journalistic work. Amy Levy was a novelist and poetess who gave very early evidence of her gift. From her eighth year she began writing verses, plays and short stories that grew in power as she grew in years. While yet a schoolgirl in her teens she wrote "Xantippe," a biting defense of Socrates' wife. When she was eighteen, a short story of hers appeared in "Temple Bar," and a little later "Xantippe and Other Poems," in three volumes. The "Minor Poet" appeared in 1882, and gives evidence of discontent and restlessness. The last volume of her poems, "A London Plane Tree," appeared posthumously. She wrote several novels, "Romance of a Shop," "Miss Meredith," "Reuben Sachs," and "The Unhappy Princess." She has a distinctive charm of style and a power of vivid presentation. It is to be lamented that in "Reuben Sachs," she chose to give some of the less pleasing phases of Jewish character. Nina Davis (Mrs. R. N. Salaman) turns the melody of her muse toward an expression of Jewish aspiration as found in the poems of earlier Jewish writers. She has made translations, in

exquisite style, from the Hebrew poets of the middle ages. They were published in 1895 in a volume, "Poems and Hebrew Translations." A "Second Impression" was issued in 1905. Mrs. Salaman's renderings are a series of gems, and display both poetic talent and scholarship. The volume opens with a prelude on the canticles of the Synagogue. It contains this noble stanza:

> "Lo, living yet, beloved, lingering strain,
> My harp of old,
> Voice of a patience that hath borne the pain
> Of years untold."

At the close of the book there are a sketch and a poem, based on a game of chess, the latter taken from a MS. found in the Vatican, and dating from probably the fourteenth century. The sketch is remarkable for the fact that the game is mainly described by a combination and adaptation of a number of Biblical texts.

Mrs. Henry Lucas is another gifted English Jewess who bent her talent to the service of her faith. She has issued two volumes of metrical translations of Hebrew poems, in "Songs of Zion," 1894, and "The Jewish Year," 1898. Mrs. Lucas' effort, which preceded that of Nina Davis, was the first successful attempt in this direction, though others had made similar attempts. The spirit of Hebrew poetry is very elusive. It has a manner all its own which it is extremely difficult to transcribe into English. But Mrs. Lucas has succeeded in retaining this spirit in her English verse, without sacrifice of dignity. The poems are devotional, for synagogue use, and occasionally dogmatic, but simply pre-

sented, as they often are, they made very readable poetry. An example in the following stanza, from "The Jewish Year," will illustrate:

> "And He is One, His powers transcend,
> Supreme, unfathomed, depth and height,
> Without beginning, without end.

A little book of beautiful verse under the title of "Poems of Love and Death," was published by Lady Lindsay, who is also the author of "Godfrey's Quest." The book has three parts, Poems of Love and Death, Talmudic Traditions, and Nature's Voice. The poems display a combination of the Hellenic and the Hebraic spirit. While many of them are religious in tone, there is seen throughout them all a broad tolerance of all forms of faith and a reverence for truth that will not abide sham and insincerity. Mr. Reuben M. Lange published, 1905, "Ysault," a dramatic poem, and in 1906 a volume of verse, "A Dream Cup and other Poems."

FICTION.

In the realm of fiction, Jewish literary genius finds large representation. There appears a number of names that will survive more than their own generation. A pioneer of the century was Grace Aguilar, 1816-1847. Her history is pathetically interesting. She was born of a Portuguese family of Maranos, who had fled to England for refuge in the eighteenth century. The family lived secluded, and Miss Aguilar's education was undertaken by her parents. She was frail from birth and in order to strengthen her constitution she was often taken to the seaside and into the country. Thus her companionship with her people was practically

cut off. Yet she had an intense religious feeling and a deep sense of Jewish comradeship. In spite of her physical weakness she was very industrious and began writing as a child. By the time she was twelve she had written a drama, "Gustavus Vasa," and two years later wrote a collection of verse. Her first publication, made anonymously, was in 1835, a book of poems, called "The Magic Wreath." She continued to write mostly stories, and works dealing with Jewish topics. The most widely known of tales are "The Vale of Cedars," a story of Spain in the fifteenth century, and "Days of Bruce," a romance founded on Scottish history. She wrote a series of domestic stories, "Home Influence," "Mother's Recompense," and "Woman's Friendship," and a number of Jewish tales that were issued under the titles "Home Scenes and Heart Studies," and "The Perez Family." Two short volumes were separately published as "The Escape" and "The Edict." She was also the author of a number of religious works, among which were "The Spirit of Judaism," "The Women of Israel," and "The Jewish Faith, Its Spiritual Consolation, Moral Guidance and Immortal Hope." Her last work was a small "History of English Jews," for Chamber's Miscellanies. Her works had considerable vogue a generation ago, and new editions of some of them appear now and then to-day. Her style is pleasing, though somewhat sentimental and diffuse. Her weaknesses, however, may be attributed to youth. She died when she was scarcely thirty-one years of age. Her whole life was practically a struggle against bodily weakness and illness, and she had to endure much family care and

trial. One feels a sense of admiration for her brave spirit and her untiring industry, that in spite of such heavy hindrances, produced in the few years given her, so large a number of excellent volumes. Her religious feeling was strong and deep. She had been taken to a European cure, but this failing, she was removed to Frankfort, where she died. The last message she gave with her fingers, being unable to speak, was "Though He slay me yet do I trust in Him."

A contemporary of Grace Aguilar was Charlotte Montefiore, 1818-1854, and she, too, wrote for the uplifting of her people. Among her productions are "The Way to Get Rich," "The Birthday," "Caleb Asher," and "A Few Words to Jews." They are all pervaded with a moral atmosphere and are intended to form an ethical appeal to her coreligionists. She was an active philanthropist, and was interested in many educational and benevolent institutions. Another work, "The Jewel-ed Isle," has been ascribed to her, but her authorship of it has been disputed.[1] Katie, now Lady, Magnus, born 1844, is another gifted Jewish writer who appeared a little later in the century. She, too, like her other talented sisters, has given much thought to Jewish topics. Her attention was directed to history as well as fiction. She wrote "Holiday Stories" and "Little Miriam's Bible Stories," which have a charm for juvenile readers. Her historical efforts embrace two Jewish and one general topic. They are, "About the Jews Since Bible Times," "Outlines of Jewish History," and "First Makers of England." A number of essays and papers,

[1] Die Judischen Frauen in der Geschichte," etc., by M. Kayserling, p. 276.

that had appeared in various periodicals, were collectively issued in a volume, called "Salvage." Another volume of seven essays of particular Jewish interest was published under the name "Jewish Portraits." In this there is a review of Dr. Kaufmann's "George Eliot and Judaism." [1] Lady Magnus is an interesting writer, who displays much reading. Some of her best work is seen in her poems, which have appeared in 1905 in a "Book of Verse."

Among the novelists of the first half of the century was Samuel Phillips, 1815-1854. Starting as an actor at the age of fifteen he turned his attention to journalism and literature. Through the kindness of friends he was enabled to take a course at Cambridge. His first work was a romance, "Caleb Stukely," which was first printed in Blackwood's Magazine and later reprinted. Its success led to other tales, a number of which was issued in a volume called "We Are All Low People There." He published two volumes of literary essays, 1852 and 1854, and served as literary critic on the Times staff. At the formation of the Society of the Crystal Palace he became secretary and literary director, and in connection with it wrote "The Guide" and the "Portrait Gallery." He was a vigorous and fluent writer and his works commanded much attention, not merely for their intrinsic worth, but for the boldness with which he criticised the leading writers of the day, such as Dickens and Carlyle.

[1] This was an appreciation of "Daniel Deronda," by Prof Kaufmann, of Buda Pesth. It was translated into English by J. W. Ferrier, and published by Blackwood & Sons, London.

Benjamin L. Farjeon, 1833-1903, was a successful and prolific novelist. His first work, "Grif," 1870, created a place for him in English letters. It attracted the favorable notice of Dickens. He wrote some forty odd novels, of which a number have Jewish characters and deal with things of Jewish interest. Among these latter are "Salomon Isaacs," 1877, "Aaron the Jew," 1894, "Miriam Rozella," 1897, and "Pride of Race," 1901. These novels deal very sympathetically with their Jewish themes and characters. Farjeon was an amiable writer, whose style was patterned after that of Dickens, but it is a rather weak imitation.

Julia Frankau, born 1864, writing at times under the pseudonym Frank Danby, was a writer of successful stories. Her first novel, "Dr. Phillips, A Maida Vale Idyll," 1887, is a story of Jewish life in the West End of London. The work created a sensation by its realistic treatment, and doubtless paved the way for the later school of novelists, both Jewish and Christian, in England and America, who have made much of scenes of Jewish life. It was followed by "Babes in Bohemia," 1890, "Pigs in Clover," also with Jewish characters, and "Baccarat," 1904. Under her own name she published a treatise on "Eighteenth Century Artists and Engravers," 1901, and "Eighteenth Century Color Plates, 1906, also the "Life and Works of John Raphael Smith, 1902. She published other novels, "A Coquette in Crape," 1907, and "The Sphinx's Lawyer," 1906, and has been a frequent contributor of articles and essays to the press and reviews.

THE D'ISRAELIS.

The elder D'Israeli, Isaac, the father of the famous premier, 1766-1848, tried his hand at novel-writing, and wrote at least four. They are "Vaurien, a Sketch of the Times," "Flim Flams, or the Life of My Uncle," "Mejnoun and Leila, the Arabian Petrarch and Laura," and "Despotism, or the Fall of the Jesuits." The first three appeared in 1797, the last named in 1811. His literary fame, however, does not rest on these novels, for they were not successful. He is better known through his essays, criticisms and miscellaneous writings. He was the son of a wealthy man, and could follow to the full his literary bent. He first appeared in print in the Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1786, with a defense of Dr. Johnson. A few years later he published a volume of verse with the title "A Defense of Poetry," 1790. His best known work is "Curiosities of Literature," in six volumes, at intervals from 1791 to 1823. There were numerous other productions of the character of the "Curiosities," and an historical work, "Commentary on the Life and Reign of Charles II." about 1829. This last was a very scholarly work, based on original documents and it earned for him the degree of D. C. L., honoris causa, at Oxford, 1832.

While Mr. D'Israeli possessed abundantly the poetic temperament, his was not a creative talent. He was a gatherer, rather than a producer. He wandered to and fro over the fields of literature and culled many flowers which he wove into bouquets and gave unto the world. His works display a wonderful range of reading and contain a vast amount of interesting matter, interestingly put together. His stories and anecdotes about the

lives of authors have become a fund that has been freely drawn upon, though on occasions he makes mistakes. The great success of his literary compilations may be attributed in measure to a peculiar public taste of the time, which retained enough of the passing period of classicism to delight in the small talk of literary gossip.

The incident that occasioned his withdrawal from the synagogue is of interest, not only on his account, but because of its influence on the subsequent career of his famous son. Mr. D'Israeli belonged to the Bevis Marks Synagogue, the house of worship of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews. The Spanish-Portuguese Jews may be said to have been, on the whole, the highest class of the Jewish people. They have been the most adventurous, the most enterprising, the wealthiest and the most intellectual. They were, so to say, the aristocracy of the Jewish race and until at least the middle of the nineteenth century, exercised a spiritual hegemony over the Jewry of London, though their spiritual and economic leadership has since passed into the hands of the German Jews so-called. They, the Spanish-Portuguese Jews, were the creators of the golden age of Jewish literature during the Moorish occupation of Spain, and they were the ones who felt the heavy hand of the infamous inquisition. Their religious loyalty was intense and profound, a loyalty whose soil has been enriched by the blood of many a martyr. But they are, withal, stalwart sticklers for form. So, when having elected Mr. D'Israeli to the position of warden in the synagogue, and he having politely declined to serve, they took no notice of his declination, because their custom demanded that he who was honored with office must serve. When he persisted

in his declination, they fined him forty pounds. Mr. D'Israeli demurred against paying the fine, but they would hear no excuse, and he wrote finally saying, "I am under the painful necessity of wishing that my name be erased from the list of your members." This occurred in 1813.

It cannot be said that Isaac D'Israeli abandoned the religion of his fathers. His views were far in advance of his coreligionists of his day, but not such as to lead him to abjure his ancestral faith and to separate formally from them. His withdrawal from membership in the synagogue was for no subjective cause, but the result of external occasion. Twenty years after this incident, in 1833, he wrote his "Genius of Judaism," in which he speaks enthusiastically of the Jewish religion and people, of their glorious and heroic past. He deplored only what he termed the spirit of exclusiveness. He had expressed these same views in his novel "Vaurien" and in an article on Moses Mendelsohn, written for the "Monthly Review" of July 1798, both of these publications appearing more than a decade and a half before the episode that led to his action. He attended the inauguration of the Reform Synagogue, at Burton Crescent in 1841, and his views were doubtless in accord with its platform. There is reason to suppose that had this synagogue existed earlier in his life he would have remained a worshipping member of it. He never expressed any wish to exchange Judaism for Christianity, nor did he submit to baptism. His son Benjamin, the future Premier, was baptized at the instance of Rogers, the poet, who represented that the future career of the boy, who was then about thirteen years of age and who

appeared to be highly gifted, "might be compromised by connection with a race laboring under social and civic disabilities, and the entrance to the road to success might be irrevocably closed to him." This baptism took place in 1817.

Benjamin D'Israeli, 1804-1881, like his people in the history of nations, occupies a unique place in literature. Though the baptismal drops widened his material opportunities, they did not create his genius. They made it possible for him to become the Premier of England and to crown Victoria Empress of India, but they did not increase his abilities or enhance his brilliant mental gifts. Lord Beaconsfield remained intensely Jewish in spirit, and loyal to the house of David all his life. He was a firm believer in the power of race, and much of his writing is filled with a defense and exaltation of the Jewish race, which he named the "aristocracy of nature."

At the age of twenty-two he published his first novel, "Vivian Grey." He was then an assistant in a solicitor's office, but this take-off on London's highest society was startingly realistic. The novel created a sensation and gained instant notoriety. Its magniloquent style, its veracious descriptions and caricatures of persons high in social and political life, amazed the haute monde when they came to learn that its author was merely an office boy. D'Israeli, falling sick, left England to travel in Egypt and Palestine. This trip did much to influence his whole future. The visit to the ancestral home of his people made an impression on him that is evident in all his subsequent career. It appeared in "Contarini Fleming," in his "Letters to his Sister," in

"Coningsby," in the "Life of Lord George Bentinck," but most of all in "Tancred." Tancred goes to the East for inspiration; ex oriente lux. He seeks to solve the great mystery of life and inspiration, and looks for it in the home of inspiration, as though inspiration were local and confined to any quarter of the earth. George Eliot likewise sends Daniel Deronda on a honeymoon trip to the East to begin the undefined mission which he is to accomplish. At Bethany, Tancred meets Eva, the Jewess, and in the discussion between these two, D'Israeli gives his ideas on the relations between Judaism and Christianity. He regards Christianity as the Judaism of the multitude, the flowering of the mother faith. But its substantial greatness, its morals and its ethical beauty are all Jewish, for Judaism was "the church in which Jesus was born and which he never quitted." It is in this work that he puts in the mouth of Eva that celebrated epigram, "One half the world worships a Jewess, and the other half a Jew," and then asks, "Which is the greater, the worshipped or the worshippers?"

In "Coningsby," the Jewish character Sidonia is a somewhat mystical figure, a philosopher, a financier, a diplomat, a power in continental cabinets, a native of England, and yet an alien, for its laws prevent his becoming a citizen. It was with this character, Sidonia, that D'Israeli fought for his people in their political struggle. In Parliament his vote and his energy were constantly employed in their behalf, and he had their interests in mind when, in the making of the Treaty of Berlin, he insisted that Roumania, to have her independence guaranteed, should guarantee the civil rights

of the Jews. It is a promise that, to the shame of the signatory powers to the treaty, has been wantonly violated. Sidonia was evidently a favorite character with his creator, for in his mouth D'Israeli places many of his finest defences of the Jewish race. "The Jews," for example, he says,[1] "independently of the capital qualities for citizenship which they possess in their industry, temperance and energy and vivacity of mind, are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious, and shrinking themselves from converts as from a calamity, are ever anxious to see the religious systems of the countries in which they live flourish. Do you think that the quiet humdrum persecution of a decorous representative of an English university can crush those who have successfully baffled the Pharoahs, Nebuchadnezzar, Rome, and the feudal ages? The fact is, you cannot destroy a pure race from the Caucasian organisation. It is a physiological fact; a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, and Christian inquisitors. No penal laws, no physical tortures, can effect that a superior race should be absorbed in an inferior, or be destroyed by it. The mixed, persecuting races disappear; the pure, persecuted race remains. And at this moment, in spite of centuries or tens of centuries, of degradation, the Jewish mind exercises a vast influence on the affairs of Europe. I speak not of their laws, which you still obey; of their literature, with which your minds are saturated; but of the living Hebrew intellect."

"David Alroy" is another Jewish novel in which

[1] Coningsby, Vol. I., pp. 331-2.

D'Israeli rhapsodizes about the greatness of the Jewish people and the powerful incentive to sentiment which one finds in the East. The novel is based on the tale of a pseudo-messiah of the Jews, one David Alroy, or Alrui, who appeared in Turkey in the twelfth century as a saviour of the Jews.

D'Israeli's literary labors are closely identified with his political life. He began his political career with a defeat, but he established a name for pluck and perseverance. In his quarrel with O'Connell, the latter had said that "the impenitent thief on the cross must have been named D'Israeli." But this did him so little harm that the next year he was returned to Parliament. His parliamentary experience began with a rebuff. His maiden speech was howled down so that it could not be heard. When he sat down he cried, "I sit now, but time will come when you will hear me." The time did come. Interesting, too, is the incident when, being taunted with the fact he was a Jew, he flung back the taunt with the proud declaration of his joy in his ancestry. There is no question but that these episodes had much to do with the character of D'Israeli's writing. His Jewishness was intensified by the opposition that it inspired. He was the more insistent champion of his race because his opponents endeavored to discredit him on account of his race.

He was an anomaly in English political life, as he was in its literature. He combined the imagination of the Orient with the practical sagacity of western civilization. He was a "statesman-novelist," who "introduced the novelist's imagination into his statesmanship and the statesman's foresight into his novels." His

novels were written with the purpose of promulgating his ideas. With his practical vision he saw that he could reach a wider constituency in his writings and that he could perhaps better convince them by picturing the ideals in concrete form. Herein is the psychology that characterizes him as it does his people. The Jews combine the spirit of idealism with intense practical energy. They are philosophers in action, dreamers awake. The Jewish strain is perceptible in D'Israeli in both his political and literary activities. In politics it gave him imagination, patience in waiting, tenacity in purpose. In literature it gave him this same imaginative faculty, brilliance of intellect, sustained power of effort, and analytical keenness. What if the brilliance on occasions had the effect of the bizarre, or that pride of race sometime ran to racial chauvinism? These are not inherent faults, they are the vices of exaggerated virtues. The exuberance of oriental imagery as manifest in dress, debate or diction of speech or book, were perhaps studied for effect. D'Israeli has been characterized as a brilliant poseur. Perhaps the exuberance seemed the greater by contrast with the sedate and sober excellence of his contemporaries, as the vivid sunshine of Judea might contrast with the gray fog of London.

The centenary of Mr. D'Israeli's birth was observed, in 1904, by a reawakened interest in the man and his achievements. Many articles and essays were contributed to magazines and periodicals reviewing his life and labors and his place in English literature. Two volumes of some pretentions appeared, "An Unconventional Biography," by Wilfred Megnell, and "Beaconsfield," by Walter Sichel. The latter has also published

an elaborate character sketch, "D'Israeli." Two new editions of his works appeared. Though much of his writing deals with things of temporary interest, such as political views and conditions, yet much is destined to a permanent place in literature. "Lothair" and "Coningsby" may be considered as representative of his diction, his method, and his ideas. He is a satirist and a sentimentalist, and one is not always sure when he is in earnest. He revelled in material opulence, yet he unflaggingly pursues an ideal. In two things was he consistently steadfast, in his loyalty to his people, the "aristocracy of nature," and in profound respect for another aristocracy, that of talent.

NOVELS OF JEWISH LIFE.

Within the past two decades there has come into vogue a class of stories dealing with scenes of Jewish life. The century-long segregation of the Jews from the communal life of the peoples, among whom they dwell, has developed naturally social customs and conditions peculiar to themselves. Even though the barriers of physical ghettoes have been demolished, there is a certain social aloofness, partly objective, partly subjective, in which the Jews live. The inherited traditions and customs of centuries are not uprooted in a generation. The renewed persecutions during the past twenty-five years in Russia and southeastern Europe drove many Jews to take refuge in the more enlightened countries of the west, mostly in England and America, whose policy has been the most liberal and just. They have congregated in the large cities, especially of the seaboard, like London, Liverpool, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago. Naturally flocking

together, they have established Jewish centers in these cities. The conditions created by these centers are fertile fields for literary harvests which have been gathered by many writers both Jewish and Christian, and both in England and America. There is a powerful and tragic struggle constantly going on in the newly formed Ghettoes of these English and American cities. It is the conflict between isolation and assimilation. The tragedy of it lies in the intellectual and spiritual gulf that inevitably ensues between parents and children. Though some Christian writers can enter into an understanding of this tragedy and write of it with feeling and sympathy, its best interpreters are naturally Jews themselves. Of these English Jewish writers, in the realm of fiction, the foremost are Israel Zangwill and Samuel Gordon, the former being by far the more widely known, and easily the first.

ZANGWILL.

Israel Zangwill was born in London in 1864, and, excepting a few years' residence at Bristol, his life has been spent in the metropolis. He was educated at the Jews Free School and at the University of London. For a while he was a teacher at the Free School, but resigned his position to devote himself to literature. He showed his literary proclivity at an early age. While at school he edited and helped to write an annual called "Purim." His first novel was "The Premier and the Painter," 1888. It was written in conjunction with Lewis Cowen and published under the pseudonym of "J. Freeman Bell." There are in it traces of the influence of D'Israeli and Dickens, but also the distinctive tone of Zangwill's peculiar style. The plot is unconventional, and the

treatment bold and free. The keen sense of humor, the apt turning of a phrase, the brilliant epigram and the power of analysis, which have distinguished his writing, all make their appearance. He became one of a coterie of young literary aspirants, such as Jerome K. Jerome and Robert Barr and others. The predominance of the humorous element was made evident in his following works, "Bachelors' Club" and "The Old Maids' Club," both being a collection of sketches of fantastic and prankish humor.

The reputation gained from these works brought him a commission from the Jewish Publication Society of America to write a novel about Jewish life. The result was the "Children of the Ghetto, being Pen Pictures of a Peculiar People." The work was published simultaneously in London and Philadelphia, 1892. It gave him international renown, and has been translated into a number of languages. In this Zangwill found himself. He had come into his own. His perfect understanding of the conditions which he pictured, his complete comprehension of their psychological background, his faculty of analysis, his power of pathos and humor, combined with his brilliant style, produced a remarkable work that commanded the attention of the literary world and declared the new star that illumined its horizon. The first volume pictures the Ghetto of London, with its perplexities and problems of adjustment. In the second volume, called "The Grandchildren of the Ghetto," is described the change wrought by a generation, the evolution from Petticoat Lane to the West End. Like all progress, this, too, had its penalties. Zangwill's study is picturesque and true, and

caused a commotion among some of the more super-sensitive members of the community, who were not pleased to see their foibles and peculiarities thus laid bare to the gaze of the Gentile world. But the hand that exposed them was withal a kindly one and just. If it exhibited some superficial weaknesses, it also revealed to a world that had not credited them, an inherent moral strength and a beautiful spirituality, which underlie the crust of the sordid exterior compelled by the pressure of age-long persecution.

Following this line, Zangwill wrote a number of volumes dealing with Jewish life and characters. "The King of Schnorrers," 1894, "The Dreamers of the Ghetto," 1898, "They That Walk in Darkness," 1899. "Ghetto Tragedies," are sketches that give an accurate insight into conditions peculiar to the Jewish people. "The Dreamers of the Ghetto" are a number of historic Jewish personages, who have achieved fame in the world, such as Lasalle, Beaconsfield, Heine, etc.

In these, Zangwill's power is well displayed, as also in "They That Walk in Darkness." The minor key, to which the note of continental Jewish life is too often attuned, is struck, but without monotony or lack of skill. The pathos is natural and unstrained. His latest publication in this direction is "Ghetto Comedies," 1906. In it he returns again to the Jews of the still submerged class. The stories are not all comedies, as in the prefatory note Mr. Zangwill states that he disregards the conventional distinction between comedy and tragedy. The flowering of his art is visible. Other sketches have been published under the titles "Without Prejudice," 1896, and "The Gray Wig," 1903.

His two novels of general interest, "The Master" and "The Mantle of Elijah," have been widely read and were very successful from the point of view of popularity. But not so with regard to art. Zangwill is at his best in the short story. This is his metier. His genius in this direction rivals that of Poe and De Maupassant, and is unrivalled in England. In the longer novel his power flags, the excellence is not sustained. A master of epigram, he often sacrifices much for the sake of an epigram. He excels as a painter of miniatures. He fails with the larger canvas. This is true likewise of his dramatic efforts. These are sketches, not sustained dramas. "Six Persons,," "Three Penny Bits," "The Revolting Daughter," "The Moment of Death," are all of them clever pieces, the last named especially is a strikingly original study, but they are curtain-raisers. The "Children of the Ghetto" was dramatized. In the United States it ran for some months with a fair degree of success. The theme of the play did not, however, appeal to the average non-Jewish auditor, and the somewhat abstruse Talmudical law regarding the validity of betrothals, upon which the climax of the play depended, was not wholly understood. It was put on in London, but soon withdrawn. His most successful venture in this direction was the dramatization of a Christmas tale, "Merely Mary Ann." It is a sweet, clean story of a London "slavey," who falls in love with a man far above her station in life and who, with many pathetic little subterfuges, attempts to lessen the wide gulf between them. His latest drama is "The Melting Pot," wherein he pictures the assimilative powers of the American Republic, and attacks, though

not with conspicuous success, the inter-marriage problem. He has also been the author of many poems and verses, some of them being exquisite renderings of the synagogal liturgy and the medieval Jewish poets. Many of these poems have been published in a volume "Blind Children," 1903.

From the standpoint of pure literature, Mr. Zangwill is doubtless the foremost Jewish literary figure of this generation, which is saying much, for there are many splendid scholars and writers, who grace this generation of English Jews. He has identified himself with the large communal activities of the Jewish people. At one time a strong Zionist, he has broken away from the older society because of the refusal of the Zionistic Congress to consider favorably the offers of the British Government of a tract of land in East Africa for colonization purposes, with an autonomous government under British sovereignty. He formed the "Jewish Territorial Organization," and has spent much time and effort advocating its cause. His heart is in full sympathy with his people, and though he does not hesitate to condemn what he disapproves, he never writes to wound. He is a brilliant, versatile and picturesque writer, a novelist, poet, essayist, dramatist, and critic, and his place in English literature is assured for all time.

SAMUEL GORDON.

As a successful novelist, both in general themes and on those of specific Jewish interest, Samuel Gordon is pressing Zangwill as a fairly good second. Born in Prussia, 1871, he came to London at the age of thirteen. A scholar of considerable classical attainment, even

at that young age, Gordon soon won recognition in the City of London School and Cambridge University. Like Zangwill, he knows whereof he writes. His pictures are the result of practical experience and knowledge and not of academic study. His chief novels of Jewish life are "A Handful of Exotics," 1897, "Daughters of Shem," 1898, "Lesser Destinies," 1899, "Sons of the Covenant," 1900, "Strangers at the Gate," 1902, and "Unto Each Man His Own," 1904. "Sons of the Covenant" is a sustained novel, containing the story of two young boys, who are said to have been Gordon himself and his brother, who are very much in earnest about the welfare of their people, and who devise a decentralizing scheme for the amelioration of the conditions of the Jews of London's East End. His other stories of Jewish life are short tales, which are marked by a vivid realism. Gordon travelled extensively on the continent and gained at first hand a thorough knowledge of the unhappy conditions under which the Jews in the Pale of Settlement are condemned to live. These are pictured in "The Ferry of Fate," 1906, a novel of intense interest, which gained for him the sobriquet of the "Jewish Maxim Gorki." "Unto Each Man His Own" deals with the insistent inter-marriage problem, and in it Gordon found occasion to speak rather boldly. "In Years of Transition," 1897, is a novel dealing with life in the Latin quarter of Paris. "The Queen's Quandary," 1903, is a work of romantic character. Several of his short stories have been dramatized and produced with success. His first dramatic venture was somewhat unfortunate. It was a play based on the Captain Dreyfus episode in France. Its production was prohibited by

the Lord Chamberlin's censor. Gordon is a fascinating writer. His style is lucid, easy and attractive. He has the faculty of seeing his problems from a detached view-point, and this has served him well, especially in his stories of Jewish life.

Other novelists of the period may be mentioned, Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick, Louis Zangwill, Bella Sidney Woolf, Lily Montagu and Violet Guttenburg. Mrs. Sidgwick also deals with stories of Jewish interest, though she writes of a higher social and more prosperous class. She evidences that religious loyalty is not necessarily concomitant with poverty only, but that refined, wealthy and successful Jews are no less imbued with the spirit of devotion to the faith of their fathers. "Scenes of Jewish Life," "Lesser's Daughter," "Isaac Eller's Money," are among her Jewish works. She also wrote "The Beryl Stones," "The Thousand Eugenias," "The Inner Shrine," "The Grasshoppers," "A Woman with a Future" and "Mrs. Finch-Brassey." Louis Zangwill is an author whose fame is handicapped by his "big brother's" greater fame. He is a brother of Israel Zangwill and he has written some volumes that have won recognition from the discerning. Among them are "A Drama in Dutch," 1896, "A Nineteenth Century Miracle," 1896, "The World and a Man," 1896, "The Beautiful Miss Brook," 1897, "Cleo the Magnificent," 1899, "One's Womankind," 1903, and "An Engagement of Convenience," 1908. The last named treats a conventional theme in an unconventional way. An artist of genius marries beneath him at a critical moment to save his career. Later the more brilliant affinity makes her appearance. Usually the inferior

woman is painted in crude colors in order to palliate the hero's inclination toward the affinity. Mr. Zangwill reverses the usual procedure to make a finer and more sympathetic presentation of the less brilliant wife.

Lily Montagu in "Naomi's Exodus," 1901, tells the story of a clever young Jewess, who seeks a more congenial sphere outside of her own people and finds much trouble and trial. She also wrote "Broken Stalks," 1902, and "Thoughts on Judaism," 1904. Bella Sidney Woolf as a writer for young people, of young people, has achieved success, through a simple and charming style. Among her productions are "Jerry's Joe," 1897, "My Nightingale," 1897, "All in a Castle Fair," 1900, "Dear Sweet Anne," 1906, "Harry and Herodotus," and "Little Miss Prue," 1907. Violet Guttenberg was stirred by the controversy that raged in connection with the passage of the Alien Immigration Act. She wrote "Neither Jew nor Greek," 1902, as a sort of warning, though she herself says it is a novel of the impossible. She describes the expulsion of the Jews from England under the oppression of a hostile Home Secretary, and their return, because England could not prosper without them. She has also written "Modern Exodus," 1904, and "The Power of the Psalmist," 1903.

MISCELLANEA.

In addition to the novel, drama, poetry and politics, the Jews of the past two generations make a wonderful showing. They have have engaged in all directions of literary effort, and in many of them achieved conspicuous success. As Shakespeare is the first of English writers, so there are two Jewish names that appear among the leaders as Shakespearean authorities, Mr. Sidney Lee

and Prof. Israel Gollancz. Mr. Sidney Lee, born in London, 1859, is a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford. Scarcely had he left his alma mater before he became identified with one of the most stupendous works of English literature, the Dictionary of National Biography. For the first twenty-one volumes he was the associate editor with Leslie Stephen, from 1881-90. For the next five, he was joint editor, and for the rest of the volumes, XXVII. to LXIII., together with supplement and index, forty-one volumes in all, he was sole editor. The undertaking was completed in 1903, and Mr. Lee's work was recognized by Victoria College with the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. During this time he also edited Lord Berner's translation of "Huon of Bordeaux," 1883-85, and Lord Herbert of Cherburg's "Autobiography," 1886. It is as a Shakespearean editor and scholar that Mr. Lee is best known. In this connection he has published "Life of William Shakespeare," 1898, "A Catalogue of Shakespeariana," 1899, "Shakespeare's Handwriting," 1899, "Shakespeare's Life and Works," 1900, "Shakespeare and the Modern Stage." In addition, he has written several volumes on Stratford-on-Avon, on its history and the alleged vandalisms supposed to have taken place there. He has edited a facsimile of the first folio edition of Shakespeare's work and written many shorter articles, for magazines, on various characters of Shakespeare's plays. An original study was given in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for February, 1880, in which Mr. Lee gives the history of Roderigo Lopez and claims him as the original of Shylock in "The Merchant of Venice." [1] An

[1] See supra, Chapter III.

essay, of interest to the work in hand, is one on "Elizabethan England and the Jews," published in the "Proceedings of the New Shakespeare Society," for 1888. Mr. Lee is a recognized authority on the life and labors of England's greatest poet, and by his painstaking research and exhaustless scholarship has thrown light on many doubtful passages in the works and life of Shakespeare; probably more so in the latter than in the former, for Mr. Lee is a historian rather than a critic. His own style is clear and pleasing. There is nothing of the dullness or of the pedantry of dry-as-dust scholarship in it. His life of Shakespeare reads like a novel. In addition to his Shakespeare studies Mr. Lee has published "Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century," 1906, and "Elizabethan Sonnets," 1904.

Professor Israel Gollancz, born 1864, is Professor of English Literature and Language at Kings College, University of London, lecturer in English at Cambridge University, and Secretary to the British Academy. He is an editor of rare discernment and knowledge. He edited, 1891, "The Pearl," a middle-English poem, to which a prefatory verse had been added by Tennyson. He has also edited "Cynewulf's Christ," 1892, "Exeter Book of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," 1895, and the "Temple Shakespeare." Of this last over three million copies have been sold. This edition contains a vast amount of Shakespearean information in the daintiest and most charming of forms. Prof. Gollancz has published "Parliament of Three Ages," 1897, and "Hamlet in Iceland," 1898. He is now engaged in editing a series called "The King's Classics."

A notable figure in Anglo-Jewish literary circles is that of Joseph Jacobs. Born at Sydney, New South Wales, 1854, he came to London as a young man and received his collegiate training at London University and at St. John's College, Cambridge. He is a scholar of wide versatility and great achievement. His knowledge is encyclopedic. His work has been an inspiration to many others and the impulse to much literary and historic research. His labors as critic, essayist, folklorist, historian, statistician and editor are uniformly of the highest class. It was the articles from his pen in the "Times," of January 11th and 13th, 1881, on the Russian persecutions of 1881 that stirred England, and gave birth to the noteworthy Mansion House meeting. Mr. Jacobs was made secretary of the committee that was organized, and served 1882-1890. He made a study of the Jewish conditions, and published a series of papers in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," which were issued, 1890, as a volume on "Jewish Statistics." In 1887 he published, in conjunction with Lucien Wolf, "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica." It is a complete bibliography of Anglo-Jewish history and has been the origin of much effort in that direction. His attention being drawn to historical research, he published 1893, "Jews of Angevin England," and in the same year, "Sources of Spanish-Jewish History," the fruits of a journey to Spain for the investigation of manuscript sources in that country. His love of research was not confined to matters of Jewish interest. He is an authority on English folk-lore, was editor of "Folk-lore," and honorary secretary of the International Folk-lore Council. He has published numerous works

in this department. Among them are notably an edition, 1889, of Caxton's "Esope," with a voluminous history of the Aesop fable, and of "The History of Reynard, the Fox"; also "Celtic Fairy Tales," 1891, "English Fairy Tales," 1890, "Fairy Tales, British Empire," 1895, "Indian Fairy Tales," 1892 and subsequent volumes on the same subject. As literary essayist and critic he has issued a volume, "Literary Studies," 1895, being necrologies on George Eliot, Newman, Mathew Arnold, Stevenson, and others. Another volume of essays appeared in 1896 under the title "Jewish Ideals, and other Essays." This volume has several essays of Jewish literary interest, one being on Browning's theology and another a study of the stories about little St. Hugh of Lincoln. He has also published, 1892, a volume on "Tennyson" and "In Memoriam."

As editor, Dr. Jacobs has been no less successful and brilliant. He has issued editions of English classics, among them Howell's "Familiar Letters," Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," and has written introductions to Jane Austen's "Emma," Thackeray's "Esmond," and other masterpieces. He was connected with both the leading English Jewish journals, "The Jewish Chronicle" and "The Jewish World." In 1900 he came to New York to become revising editor of the "Jewish Encyclopedia," in which capacity he served until the completion of the work, 1904. He is at present editor of "The American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger," of New York. Mr. Jacobs has written one imaginative work, "As Others Saw Him," being a life of Jesus as seen through contemporary Jewish eyes.

Israel Abrahams is another figure that looms large

in the literary life of Anglo-Jewry. Born in London, 1858, he was educated at the Jews College and the University of London. His main work is editorial and critical. His most numerous contributions are to periodical literature, to magazines, reviews, and encyclopedias. He is, however, the author of a number of volumes. Chief among them are, "Aspects of Judaism," 1895, jointly with Claude Montefiore, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," 1896, "Chapters on Jewish Literature," 1898, another "Short History of Jewish Literature," 1906, "Festival Studies," 1906, and "Judaism," 1907. In all these, he combines a profound scholarship with charming style. He has a keen literary sense and his critical reviews are illuminating. He has been, since 1889, joint editor of "The Jewish Quarterly Review," and has materially aided to bring this representative Jewish periodical to its high standard.

A scholarly writer and interpreter of Jewish thought is Claude Montefiore, born 1858, a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford. Intended for the ministry, his education was supplemented by theological training. But his ideas advancing beyond the formal views of the synagogue, he devoted himself instead to scholarly and literary pursuits. He was joint editor of "Aspects of Judaism," mentioned above, a homiletical work of value. He was the Hibbert Lecturer for 1892, and his lectures were published under the title "The Origin of Religion as Illustrated by the Ancient Hebrews." It is a distinct contribution to the literature and science of theology. He has published other works [1] of similar

[1] "The Bible for Home Reading," 2 vols.

nature, and is a prominent worker in the communal affairs of London Jewry.

Lucien Wolf, born 1857, is an author, editor, historian and journalist of high standing. He began as a journalist with the "Jewish World," at an early age, in 1874. He soon, 1877, became assistant editor of the "Public Leader," and, 1890, editorial writer for the "Daily Graphic." He is one of the best informed of English writers on foreign politics, his articles, under the name of "Diplomaticus," being for years a feature of the "Fortnightly Review." He has edited a number of Beaconsfield's novels with explanatory introductions of scholarly character. His historical researches have been in the interests of Anglo-Jewish history. The compilation (with Joseph Jacobs) of the Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica, is an epoch-making work. It has stimulated historical and literary activity to a great degree. He has made a study of the resettlement of the Jews under Cromwell, and has written a number of volumes and papers in this connection, "The Resettlement of the Jews in England," 1888, "The Middle Ages of Anglo-Jewish History," 1887, "Cromwell's Intelligencers," 1892, "The Queen's Jewry," (in Young Israel) and "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission," 1901.

Marion H. Spielman, born 1858, is an art critic and author of prominence. He has been the art critic and editor of several papers, and sectional editor for art of The Encyclopedia Brittannica. He has published a number of volumes dealing with art and artists, among them "Millais and His Works," 1898, "John Ruskin," 1900, "British Sculptors and Sculpture of the Day," 1901, "Charles Keene, Etcher," 1903,

etc. His best known work is the "History of Punch." He was a close friend of Ruskin, in the closing years of the latter's life.

Following close upon the heels of these representatives of an older group, there is a coterie of younger authors who are adding fame both to England and English Jews. Walter L. Emanuel, born 1869, is a clever humorist, whose productions have brightened the lives of his readers. He has been identified with England's national funny paper, "Punch," and some of his works appeared in its pages before they were issued in separate volumes. He has published "Me and Some Others," 1901, "A Dog Day," 1902, "People," 1903, "Mr. Punch's Diary of Leading and Misleading Events," 1905, "Dogs of War," 1906, together with other volumes. Mr. Emanuel's humor has a vein of earnest strength beneath the light laughter of the surface, and he instructs as well as entertains. Laurie Magnus, born 1872, is establishing a name for himself as author and publisher. Graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, he became Berlin correspondent for the London "Morning Post." Returning to England, 1898, he has been active as editor and publisher. He has published a "Primer of Wordsworth," 1897, "Prayers from the Poets," 1899, "Flowers of the Cave," 1900 (these latter two with C. Headlam), "Introduction of Poetry," 1902, "How to Treat English Literature," 1906. He has edited "National Education Essays." Along lines of specific Jewish interest he has written two works, "Aspects of the Jewish Question," 1902, and "'Religio Laici' Judaica," 1907. These two are well written volumes, dealing with religious questions in a sane and

comprehensive manner, evincing wide reading and careful thought. Lewis S. Benjamin, born 1874, writing under the pen-name Lewis Melville, has taken high rank among critical historians and editors. He has published three volumes on Thackeray, "Thackeray Country," 1905, "Thackeray" (with G. K. Chesterton), 1903, and "The Life of W. M. Thackeray," 1899. In addition he is the author of "In the World of Mimes," 1902, "Victorian Novelists," "The Last Gentleman of Europe," 1906, and "Farmer George," 1907. The last named is in two volumes, a life of George III., and is a delightful work, portraying in a scholarly yet fascinating manner a comprehensive analysis of this monarch's life and reign. S. L. Bensusan, born 1872, is a versatile writer of clever tales of animals and of travel, and the author also of several volumes on art and artists. Albert M. Hyamson, born 1871, is making a place for himself as a historian and lexicographer. Two young novelists, who are winning their way may be mentioned here, Albert Kinrors and Alphonse Courlander.

Among the historians are Sir Francis Cohen Palgrave, 1788-1861, whose "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," 1832, and "History of Normandy and England" (four volumes), 1855-63, are standard works; James Picciotto, 1836-1897, who produced a very useful, if not complete, work in "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," 1877; Rev. M. Margoliouth, who wrote a very able work on "The Jews in Great Britain," 1846; Charles K. Salamon, 1814-1901, a bold controversialist and successful composer. His strong articles in reply to conversionistic literature ad-

dressed to the Jews attracted much attention. He wrote "Jews as They Are," 1855, a history of Jewish Emancipation in England; it is an able production. Frederic David Mocatta, 1828-1904, was a beloved Maecenas to more than one author during the century, and his generous aid stimulated the production of a number of works. He himself was the author of "The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition," 1877, a work of considerable merit, that has been translated into several languages.

Samuel Sydney Montagu, 1848-1884, wrote graceful verse and was an adapter of plays. He wrote a comedy, "A Quiet Pipe," and an interesting book of travels, under the title, "Jewish Life in the East." Elkan N. Adler, born 1861, has also written, among other works, an extremely interesting book of travel called "Jews in Many Lands," 1905. Mr. Adler was in search of Hebrew MSS. and the account of his experiences among the various communities in the East to which he went is not only instructive, but the ease and fluency of the style make it very pleasant reading.

Philip Abraham, 1803-1890, was a literary collector much after the fashion of Isaac D'Israeli. He published "Autumn Gatherings, Prose and Poetry," 1866, and "Curiosities of Judaism," 1879. The latter is a collection of facts, opinions, anecdotes and quotations about Jews and Judaism that are very interesting reading, and a mine of useful information. He also wrote "Autobiography of a Jewish Gentleman," 1860. Charles Malcolm Salaman, born 1855, is another writer with a versatile pen. He has written some excellent verse (a volume was published 1879, "Ivan's Lovequest

and Other Poems"), a number of comedies, a volume on the "Old Engravers of England in their Relation to Contemporary Life and Art," has edited A. W. Pinero's plays, and written a clever work entitled "Woman, Through a Man's Eyeglass," 1892. Oswald John Simon, born 1855, is a writer on serious topics, who can turn his pen to fiction. His novel, "The World and the Cloister," 1890, has been well received.

A peculiarly interesting figure in Anglo-Jewish literature is that of Carl Joubert. His original surname was Grote, and he is a collateral descendant of the famous historian of Greece. Joubert was his mother's maiden name. He was born of pure Aryan parentage on both sides, without a drop of Jewish blood in his veins. He came to Russia in a business capacity, and coming in contact with the Jewish population, his sympathies were deeply aroused. He lived for a while with a Jewish family, became interested in Jewish learning and studied the Hebrew language and Jewish doctrine for seven years. He was received into the Jewish community at Warsaw, and upon making his residence in England, he became a professing member of the synagogue. For political reasons his conversion to Judaism was not made public. Joubert made a close study of Russian conditions and wrote four volumes on the topic, "The Truth About the Tsar," "The Fall of the Tsardom," "The White Hand," and "Aspects of the Jewish Question." His theory is that Russia's internal troubles will be overcome by the adoption and acceptance of a constitutional government, making all men equal under the law.

Another interesting figure is that of Arminius

Vambéry. He was born in Hungary, 1832. He was the first European to make a journey on foot through Persia and northern Asia. He did this disguised as a Sunnite dervish. The trip took nearly four years. He has published many scholarly works in foreign languages, but we are concerned here only with those connected with England. He was a pronounced defender of England's policy in the East, and as bitterly opposed to Russian invasion in that direction. In line with this, he wrote many articles, and a volume, "The Coming Struggle for India," 1885. He wrote of his early struggles and travels in two intensely interesting works, "Arminius Vambéry, His Life and Adventures," 1883, and "Struggles of My Life," 1904. A volume of his "Memoirs" appeared in 1907. It is a wonderful story, this tale of a child born to absolute beggary, rising by sheer force of his abilities and will, to become a renowned traveller, explorer, diplomat and instructor, the friend and honored guest of kings and emperors.

SPECIALISTS.

Mention will be made of just a few names of writers who have published works along special or technical lines, not for the reason that these productions are a contribution to *belles lettres*, but to indicate the wide field over which Jewish intellectual and literary activity has ranged. David Ricardo, 1772-1823, was a voluminous and authoritative writer on economic and financial subjects. He has been regarded as the founder of the science of political economy. Ricardo married a non-Jewess, and separated from the synagogue when a young man. Joseph Hayam Levy, born 1838, is likewise a prolific and authoritative writer on economic and

social topics. Prof. Joseph James Sylvester, 1814-1897 was a mathematician of foremost rank, who has published many papers on scientific subjects. He wrote also a theory of versification, published under name, "Laws of Verse," 1870. Sylvester spent some time in America, and was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Virginia, 1841, and later at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Joseph Neuberg, 1806-1867, was a litterateur, and secretary to Thomas Carlyle. He accompanied Carlyle in the trip over the battlefields of Frederick the Great. He translated "On Heroes and Hero-Worship" into German, and was engaged in the translation of the "History of Frederick the Great," but died while at work on the fifth volume. Joseph Zedner, born in Germany, 1824, died 1871, was librarian of the Hebrew department of the British Museum. He published a catalogue of the books in this department, 1867. Henry Russell, 1812-1900, was a singer and composer. He is the author of over eight hundred songs, seven hundred and sixty of which were published, and sung by the public. Some of the most popular were "Ivy Green," "Cheer, Boys, Cheer," "A Life on the Ocean Wave," "I'm Afloat," "Some Love to Roam," and "To the West, to the West, to the Land of the Free." Marcus M. Kalisch, 1828-1885, was a Biblical scholar, commentator and archaeologist, who was the author of a number of erudite works. Lazarus L. Zamenhof, born Russia, 1859, is the originator and founder of the universal language, Esperanto. He has quite a following in England. Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and "The Tempest," have been translated into Esperanto, the former by Zamenhof himself. Dr. Wm. Van

Praagh, born 1845, is the author of a number of medical works. He is the pioneer in the theory of lip-reading for deaf-mutes, and has written many papers and some volumes in the promulgation of this art. Ada S. Ballin, died 1906, was also a prolific writer on medical topics. In the profession of law, Jews have become numerous, and the literary phase of the profession has likewise many representatives among them. Judah P. Benjamin's book, "On Sales," is mentioned simply because of the interest that attaches to the name of the author. Among the present writers, the name of H. S. Q. Henriques is given as a scholarly and able writer on legal topics, both from a professional and historical viewpoint. Frederick George Aflalo, born 1870, is a prolific writer on matters of sport, and has written some two dozen books of this nature. Lionel D. Barnett, born 1871, is an eminent orientalist and Greek scholar. He is in charge of the oriental department of the British Museum and has written a "History of Greek Drama," 1900, and several volumes on classic and oriental life. Other orientalists of note were Emanuel Deutsch, 1829-1873, whose memoirs, published 1874, under title "Literary Remains," reveal a beautiful soul; James Darmesteter, 1849-94, was a Frenchman who had made a study of the English character and language. He resided for a while in England, and some of his lighter, less technical works are in English. He published an edition of Byron's "Childe Harold," 1882, of "Macbeth," 1884, a book on Shakespeare, 1889, wrote, in French, "Essays on English Literature," 1883, and a charming volume "English Studies," published posthumously, 1896. He also

made an English translation of the Avesta. In the religious world, Rev. Morris Joseph, born 1848, is a leading literary figure. He has published several homiletical volumes, a work on "The Prayer Book," 1905, and a comprehensive exposition of Jewish religion, its doctrine and practice, in a work entitled "Judaism as Creed and Life," 1903. Rev. Mr. Joseph combines in rare degree the qualities of scholarship and style. His matter and his manner are both masterly. The Chief Rabbi, Dr. Herman Adler, born 1839, is the author of a number of publications, in which also scholarship and charm of style are united. Dr. Moses Gaster, born 1856, of the Portuguese Synagogue, and lecturer on Slavonic literature at the University of Oxford, is another minister, who finds literary recreation in other than theological fields. He has published "Graeco-Slavonic Literature," 1886, "Jewish Folklore in the Middle Ages," 1887, "The Sword of Moses" (a work on magic), 1896, "Chronicles of Jerahmeel," 1899, and a "History of Ancient Synagogues of Spanish and Portuguese Jews," 1901, besides being a frequent contributor to the journals of various learned societies.

An index of intellectual activity and acumen is found in the game of chess. This game has long been a favorite pastime among the Jews, and they have been its leading exponents and champions, especially during the past three-quarters of a century. They have likewise contributed to the literature of the subject in ample measure. Bernard Horwitz, 1809-1885, published "Chess Studies," 1851, "The Chess Player" (four volumes), 1851-53, and "Chess Studies and End Games Systematically Arranged," 1884. J. J. Löwenthal

edited "Transactions of the British Chess Association," 1867-69, and "The Chess Players' Magazine," 1865-67. Emanuel Lasker, born 1868, was editor of "The Chess Fortnightly," and published "Common Sense in Chess," 1896. He is also the author of several standard works on mathematics. L. Hoffer edited the "Chess Monthly" from 1879 to 1896.

APPENDIX A.

A List of Non-Jewish Authors

WHO HAVE

Written on or About the Jews.

PRE-ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.

A BALLAD, "The Jew's Daughter." Pub. in Thos. Percy's "Reliques of Antient Poetry," 1765.

A BALLAD, "Gernutus, the Jew."

BEDE, (Venerable), 673-735.
"Ecclesiastical History," 731.

CHAUCER, GEOFFREY, 1328-1400.
"The Prioresse's Tale," in the Canterbury Tales.

HOLINSHED, RALPH,
Chronicles, 1586-7.

LANGLAND, WILLIAM, 1332-1400(?).
"Vision of Piers the Plowman," 1362.

PARIS, MATHEW, thirteenth century.
"Historia Major" (ed. Luard, 1883).
"Historia Minor" (ed. Sir F. Madden, 1869).

ROGER OF WENDOVER, d. 1237.
"Flores Historiarum."

RYMER.
Foedera, (ed. 1816).

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH, (an account of the martyrdom of William of Norwich.)

WILLIAM OF NEWBURY, 1136-1208.
"Historia Rerum Anglicarum," 1198.

ELIZABETHAN ERA.

GOSSON, STEPHEN,
"School of Abuse," 1579, gives title of a play, "The Jew Shewn at the Bull."

GREENE, ROBERT,
"The First Part of the Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turks," a drama.

"JEW SHEWN AT THE BULL, THE," a lost play mentioned in Gosson's "School of Abuse."

MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER,
"The Rich Jew of Malta."

PIOT, LAZARUS,
Trans. of "The Orator, handling Severall Hundred Discourses." The 95th Declamation of a "Jew who would have for his debt the pound of flesh of a Christian."

SILVAYN, ALEXANDER,
French author of the above, "The Orator," etc.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM,
"The Merchant of Venice."
"Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act II., Sc. 3 and 5.
"Much Ado About Nothing," Act III., Sc. 3.
"Love's Labour Lost," Act IV., Sc. 1.
"Midsummer Night's Dream," Act III., Sc. 1.
"King Henry IV.," Part I., Act II., Sc. 4.
"Macbeth," Act IV., Sc. 1.

WILSON, ROBERT,
"The Three Ladies of London," 1584.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ADDISON, LANCELOT, REV. (father of Joseph Addison).
"The Present State of the Jews, more particularly those relating to Barbary," Lon., 1675.

BARLOW, THOS.,
"The Case of the Lawfulness of the Toleration of the Jews," Lon., 1654.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER,
"The Custom of the Country."
"Double Marriage."
"Scornful Lady."

BRETT, SAMUEL,
Captain of a ship, published, 1655, curious pamplet giving an account of a great Council of Jews assembled in the plain of Ageda, Hungary, to examine Scriptures concerning Christ.

BROME, RICHARD,
"The Jewish Gentleman," a play, entered Stationers' Co., 1640, not printed.

BUSHER LEONARD,
"Religious Peace," 1614 and 1646.

BUTLER, SAMUEL,
In "Hudibras," has reference to Jewish holy day.

CALVERT, THOS.,
"A Large Diatribe of the Jews' Estate," York, 1648.

CARTWRIGHT, JOANNA AND EBENEZER,
"A Petition for the Jewes for the Repealing of the Act of Parliament for their Banishment out of England, etc." (This was the first petition in the movement for the return of the Jews under Cromwell.)

CAREW, LADY ELIZABETH,
"Marian, the Fair Queen of Jewry," a tragedy, Lon., 1613.

CHEAUMONT, DE,
"A New Letter Concerning the Jews," Lon., 1664.

COLLIER, THOMAS,
"A brief Answer to some of the objections and demurs made against the coming in and inhabiting of the Jews in this Commonwealth, etc." Lon., 1656.

"CONFERENCE BETWEEN A PAPIST AND A JEW, or a letter from a merchant in London to his corresponcent in Amsterdam," 1678.

"CONFERENCE BETWEEN A PROTESTANT AND A JEW," or a second Letter from a merchant in London to his correspondent in Amsterdam, 1678.

"CONSIDERATION OF A BILL FOR A GENERAL NATURALIZATION," 1748.

CORYAT, THOS.,
"Coryat's Crudities," a book of travel, 1611.

COWLEY, ABRAHAM, in "Discourse on Oliver Cromwell," shows himself hostile to a resettlement of Jews.

CROSS, J. C.,
"Jew and Gentile," a burlesque.

CROWNE, JOHN,
"The Destruction of Jerusalem" a tragedy in two parts, 1677.

DANIEL, JOHN,
"The Jewish Unction," Lon., 1651.

DEKKER, THOS.,
"Fancies Chaste and Fair."
"Jew of Venice," 1653.

"DELIVERANCE, THE GREAT," of the Whole House of Israel, an answer to Menasseh ben Israel's "Hope of Israel."

"DEVILISH CONSPIRACY EXECUTED BY THE JEWS," 1648.

DURY, JOHN,
"A Clear Case of Conscience, whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth," 1656.

EVELYN, JOHN,
"The History of three late famous Impostors,—together with the Cause of the Final Extirpation, Destruction, and Exile of the Jews out of Persia."

E. S. (of Middlesex),
"An Epistle to the learned Menasseh ben Israel, in answer to his; Dedicated to Parliament." Lon., 1650.

FILMER, SIR ROBERT,
"An Adverstisement to the Jurymen of England, touching Witches, shewing in an essay what is the Difference between an English and a Hebrew Witch." Lon., 1684.

FINCH, SERJEANT,
"The Calling of the Jews," 1621.

FLETCHER,
See Beaumont and Fletcher.

FORD, JOHN,
"The Gentlemen of Venice."

FULLER, THOS.,
"The Holy and Profane State, a Pisgah Sight of Palestine."

GALE, THEOPHILUS,
"The Court of the Gentiles, a Discourse touching the Original of Human Literature, etc." 5 vols. Lon., 1672-1682. An attempt to trace all human learning to the ancient scripture and Hebrew Church.)

"GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE JEWS, FOR THE CONQUERING OF THE HOLY LAND." Lon., 1647.

GLAPTHORNE, HENRY,
"The Hollander," a drama.

GODWYN,
"Moses and Aaron, Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites, used by the Ancient Hebrews."

HAYNE,
"Jews as Aliens," 1685.

HENNINGE, WILLIAM,
"The Jews' Tragedy," a drama, 1662.

HERRICK, ROBERT, a reference in poem, "Noble Numbers."

"ISRAEL'S CONDITION AND CAUSE PLEADED, OR SOME ARGUMENTS FOR THE JEWS' ADMISSION INTO ENGLAND," (an answer to Prynne's Demurrer). Printed by P. W. for Wm. Larner and Jonathan Ball, Lon., 1656.

JESSEY, HENRY,
"The Glory of Israel and Judah," 1653.
"A Narrative of the late Proceedings at Whitehall, concerning the Jews, etc." 1656.

"THE JEWISH GENTLEMAN, drama, not printed, 1640.

JONSON, BEN,
"The Alchemist."

JOSEPHUS, PHILO, (Judaeus Gent. pseud.)
"News from the Jews, etc." 1671.

LESLIE, CHARLES, D. D.,
"A Short and Easy Method with the Jews" (controversial), 1689.

LIGHTFOOT, JOHN (Christian Hebraist and Talmudist),
"Miscellanies, Christian and Judaicall, penned for Recreation at Vacant Hours," 1629.

LOCKE, JOHN,
"A Letter Concerning Toleration," 1689.

MARSTON, JOHN,
"The Insatiate Countess," a drama.
"The Malcontent," a drama.

MARVEL, ANDREW, derisive poem on Holland, wherein he speaks of Amsterdam as home of "Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew," etc.

MASSINGER, PHILIP,
"The Maid of Honor," 1632, a drama.

MIDDLETON, THOS.,
"The World Tost at Tennis," a mask (with Wm. Rowley).
"Triumphs of Honor and Industry."
"The Widow."

MILTON, JOHN, in his "Political Collections," of Original Letters and State Papers, was a petition for re-admission of Jews, addressed to the Short Parliament, by Samuel Herring.

NICHOLAS, EDW., Gent.
"An Apology of the Hon. Nation of the Jews and all Sons of Israel," 1648.

NORWOOD, CAPT.,
"Proposals for the Propogation of the Gospels," 1652.

"PARALLEL BETWEEN THE ISRAELITES' DESIRES OF KING SAUL, ETC., A." 1643.

PEPYS, SAMUEL,
"Diary," entries of Oct. 13, 1663, and Feb. 19, 1666.

PETERS, HUGH,
"A Word for the Army and two Words for Kingdom, 1647.

PETERS, WILLIAM,
"His Vindication, etc.," same as "Israel's Cause and Condition Pleaded, etc." above.

"EVERY WOMAN IN HER HUMOUR," a play, 1609.

POCOCK, THOS.,
Trans. into English, Menasseh ben Israel's "De Termino Vitae," 1699.

PRYNNE, WILLIAM,
"A Short Demurrer to the Jewes long-discontinued Remitter into England, comprising an exact chronological relation of their first admission into, their ill-deportment,

oppressions, and their total final banishment out of England never to return again; with a brief collection of such English laws as seem strongly to plead and conclude against the readmission, etc." 1656.

RAMSEY, THOS.,
"The Converted Jew."
"The Banners of Love."

RIVERS, J., Abbot,
"Sad Condition of a Distracted Kingdom, in a fable of Philo, the Jew." 1645.

ROWLEY, WM., see Thos. Middleton.

S. W.,
"An Epistle from the Spirit of Love and Peace to all upright Israelites," 1663.

SADLER, JOHN,
"Rights of the Kingdom," 1649.

SELDEN, JOHN,
"De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum," 1655.

SHIRLEY, JAMES,
"The City Madam."

SPEED, JOHN,
"The History of Great Britaine, etc." 1650.

"TRUE AND PERFECT RELATION OF A CONSPIRACY, DISCOVERED BY A JEW IN TURKIE," 1646.

"TWO JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM, 1683.

VIOLET, THOS.,
"Petition against the Jews, etc." 1661.

WEBSTER, JOHN,
"The Devil's Law Case," a play.
"Vittoria Corrombona," a play, 1612.

WEEMSE, JOHN,
"A Treatise of the Foure Degenerate Sonnes, viz., the Atheist, the Magician, the Idolator and the Jew," 1622.

WILLIAMS, ROGER,
"The Bloody Tenent of a Persecution for Cause of Conscience discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace," 1614.

"The Fourth Paper presented by Maj. Butler to the Hon. Committee of Parliament, for the Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," 1652. (In this Roger Williams answers affirmatively at length the question whether Jews should live freely and peaceably amo..g us.)

"WONDERFUL AND MOST DEPLORABLE HISTORY OF THE LATTER TIMES OF THE JEWS." 1652.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ARNALL, W., (under pseudonym Solom. Abarbanel),
"Complaints of the Children of Israel Concerning the Penal Laws," a burlesque on the Dissenters petitioning for a repeal of the Test Act, 1736.

ADDISON, JOSEPH
Nos. 213, 531, 495 of the "Spectator"; also No. 405 has remarks on the prevalence of Hebrew Idiom in the English language.

ARCHAICUS,
"The Rejection and Restcration of the Jews," 1753.

ARGENS, MARQUIS D',
"The Jewish Spy," five vols. 1766.

CALEY, JOHN,
"A Memoir of the Origin of the Jews in England," in vol. VIII., Archaeologia, 1787.

CAMPBELL, M.,
"The Forest Oracle," operatic comedy (Jewish Character).

CLAYTON, ROBT.,
"Letter Relative to the Restoration of the Jews," 1751.
"A Second Letter," 1751.

COLLET, SAMUEL,
"Restoration of the Jews," 1747.

COLLIER, JOHN,
"Jewish History," 2 vols. 1791.

"CONFUTATION OF THE REASONS FOR THE NATURALISATION OF THE JEWS," 1753.

COOPER, F. F.,
"Hercules, King of Clubs."

CUMBERLAND, RICHARD,
"The Jew," a drmaa, 1794.
"The Jew of Mogadore," 1808.

DIBDIN, CHARLES,
"The Jew and the Doctor," 1798.
"School for Prejudice."
"Family Quarrels" (has humorous sallies at expense of Jews).

DRAMAS, with Jewish characters, or of Jewish interest,
"Will Watch," character, Levi Lyons.
"The Jewess," character, Abanazor.
"Jack Sheppard," character, Abraham Mendez.
"Ticket-of-Leave Man," character, Melter Moss.
"The Israelite," a drama, 1785.
"Jewish Education," a drama, 1784.
"Jewish Courtship," a drama, 1787.
"The Jew Decoy'd." (founded on The Harlot's Progress), a ballad opera, 1773.

"EXPEDIENCY OF A GENERAL NATURALIZATION OF FOREIGN PROTESTANTS, AND OTHERS," 1748 and 1751.

FENTON, ELIJAH,
"Mariamne, or the Unhappy Loves of Herod and Mariamne," a tragedy: his only play, but a great success, 1723.

"HISTORICAL AND LAW TREATISE AGAINST THE JEWS AND JUDAISM, SHOWING . . . . THAT NO JEW HATH ANY RIGHT TO LIVE IN ENGLAND," etc. 1725.

JEW BILL, THE, evoked a large amount of controversialist literature, including some ballads; for complete list see B. A. J., pp. 63-69, Nos. 333-387, inclusive.

LEMOINE, HENRY, wrote an elegy on David Levi.

MADOX, THOMAS,
"History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England," 1711.

MACKLIN, CHARLES,
"Marriage a la Mode," drama.

LANDSDOWNE, LORD,
"The Jew of Venice," a comic adaptation of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," 1701.

LEFANN, PHILLIP,
"A translation of Letters of Certain Jews to Voltaire," Dublin, 1777.

OCKLEY, S.,
"History of the Present Jews throughout the World,' trans. from Italian of Jehuda de Modena; with two supplements, concerning the Sammaritan and Caraite sects, from the French of R. Simon, 1707.

O'KEEFE, JOHN,
"The Little Hunchback," a comedy.
"The Young Quaker."

POPE, ALEXANDER, reference in "The Rape of the Lock."

PRIESTLY, DR. JOSEPH,
"Letters to the Jews," 1787-9.

RABBI SHYLOCK (pseudonym).
"The Rabbi's Lamentation on the Repeal of the Jews Act, 1768.

"REASONS FOR NATURALISING THE JEWS IN GREAT BRITAINE AND IRELAND, ON THE SAME FOOTING WITH ALL OTHER NATIONS, 1714.

"CONFUTATION OF THE REASONS FOR NATURALISING THE JEWS, CONTAINING THEIR CRIMES, FRAUDS AND INSOLENCIES, AN ANSWER," 1715

"REASONS OFFERED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT FOR PREVENTING THE GROWTH OF JUDAISM," 1738.

SALTER, SAMUEL,
"Some Queries Relative to the Jews, etc." 1751.

SHAW, DUNCAN,
"History and Philosophy of Judaism," a defense of the Mosaic system against David Hume.

SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINDSLEY,
"The Duenna," a comic opera.

TAYLOR, A. M.,
"History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the Present Time," trans. from the French of Basnagius, 1708.

TELLTRUTH, TIMOTHY,
"A Proposal humbly offered to the Legislature of this Kingdom, for the re-establishment of Christianity; the bill to pass the House this Session, lest if it be deferred there remains no idea thereof to be re-established." 1753.

TOVEY, D'BLOISSIERS,
"Anglia Judaica, or the History and Antiquities of the Jews of England, etc." Oxford, 1738.

WHARTON, JOSEPH,
"History of English Poetry," 1774-1778, has a number of references to things Jewish.

WEBB, P. C.,
"The Question Whether a Jew is Capable of Holding Land," 1753.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO DATE.

ABBOTT, G. F.,
"Israel in Europe," 1907.

ALLEN, JOHN,
"Modern Judaism, or a brief account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews of Modern Times," 1816.

ARNOLD, MATHEW,
An elegiac poem on Heine's grave.

ATKINS,
"History of Modern Jews."

ATHERSTONE, EDWIN,
"Israel in Egypt," a poem, 1861.

BAINBRIDGE, OLIVER,
"Hidden Jewish Tribes," 1907.

BARROWS, E. P.,
"Manners and Customs of the Jews," 1844.

BASKERVILLE, BEATRICE C.,
"The Polish Jew," 1906.

BESANT, WALTER,
"The Rebel Queen."

BLUNT, JOHN E.,
"History of the Jews in England," 1830.

BIBLICAL THEMES FOR FICTION,

ROBERT BIRD.
"Joseph the Dreamer," 1895.

GEO. M. EBERS.
"Joshua," trans. 1890

REV. A. J. CHURCH, and R. SEELEY,
"The Hammer" (Maccabean), 1889.

REV. J. H. INGRAHAM,
"The Pillar of Fire, or Israel in Bondage," 1859.

JAMES M. LUDLOW,
"Deborah," 1901.

F. A. STRAUSS,
"The Glory of the House of Israel," 1824.
"Helen's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem," 1824.

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE,
"The Cruise of the Ben Beriah," 1897.

BEAULIEU, ANATOLE LEROY,
"Israel Among the Nations," trans. Lon., 1895.

BONAR, REV. ANDREW A., see Robt. M. MacCheyne.

BOX, REV. GEO. H.,
"The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue," 1907.
"Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer Book," (both volumes very sympathetic in character).

BROOKS, SHIRLEY,
"The Creole," a drama.

BRIDGES, JOHN HENRY,
"The Jews of Europe of the Middle Ages," Oxford, 1857.

BRIGHT, JOHN,
A powerful speech in behalf of the Jews in debate on Jewish Disabilities Bill, printed in "Bright's Speeches on Questions of Public Policy," ed. by J. E. T. Rogers, Lon., 1868.

BROWN, JAMES,
"An Account of the Jews in the City of Glasgow," 1858.

BROWN, WM.,
"Antiquities of the Jews, carefully compiled from authentic sources, and Their Customs, illustrated from Modern Travels," 2 vols., 1820, (a standard reference work in its day).

BROWNING, ROBERT, among his poems the following have Jewish interest,
"Holy Cross Day."
"Rabbi Ben Ezra."
"Fillipo Baldinucci on the Privilege of Burial."

"Jochanan Hakadosh."
"Ben Karshook's Wisdom."

BURTON, RICHARD,
"Rahab," a drama, 1906.

BYRON, LORD GEORGE,
"Hebrew Melodies," twenty-three poems given under this heading in his works, of which fifteen have Biblical or Jewish interest.

CAINE, HALL,
"The Scapegoat," a story of Jewish life in Morocco, 1891.

CHELTNAM, CHAS. SMITH,
"The Jewish Maiden's Wrong," an adaptation of Mosenthal's "Deborah," first produced, Lon., 1864.

CHERBULIEZ, VICTOR,
"Samuel Brohl and Partner," trans. into English, 1880 (anti-German and anti-Semitic).

CLEEVE, LUCAS (pseudonym of Mrs. Kingscote),
"Children of Endurance," 1904.
"As the Twig is Bent," 1901, both novels with Jewish interest. (Mrs. Kingscote is the granddaughter of Dr. Joseph Wolff, a distinguished Orientalist and traveller, who was converted to Catholicism, but was expelled from Rome, because of heretical views.)

COCKAYNE, O.,
"Civil History of the Jews, from Joshua to Hadrian," 1841.

COLERIDGE, SAMUEL TAYLOR,
"The Friend," has versification of three Talmudical tales,
"Israel's Lament,"
"The Tears of a Grateful People," both translations of Hebrew poems by Hyman Hurwitz.

COLLINS, EDWIN,
"The Wisdom of Israel," being translations of the Mishnah and Talmud in the "Wisdom of the East" series, 1906.

CONDER, CLAUDE REGNIER (an authority on Palestinean exploration),
"Judas Maccabeus," a history of the Jewish War of Independence, 1879 and 1894.

CORELLI, MARIE,
"Temporal Power."
"Barabbas," 1895.

CRABBE, GEORGE,
"The Borough," a poem, 1810.

CRAIGIE, MRS.,
"The School for Saints."
"ROBERT ORANGE," sequel to above, D'Israeli, a character.

CROKER, THOS. F. D.,
"The Stage Israelite," an essay.

CROLY, REV. GEO.,
"Salathiel, the Immortal," 3 vols. 1827.
"Last Days of Jerusalem," a poem.
"The Emperor and the Rabbi," poem.
"The Claims of the Jews (to admission into Parliament) incompatible with a National Profession of Christianity."

CURZON, HON. ROBT.,
"Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant," devotes considerable space to the Jews.

DALY, A.,
"Leah the Forsaken," a translation of Mosenthal's drama of "Deborah."

DAVIES, R.,
"The Mediæval Jews of York," in Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal, III., pp. 147-97.

DAVIT, MICHAEL,
"Within the Pale," a description of the conditions of the Jews under Russian persecution. 1900.

DICKENS, CHARLES,
"Our Mutual Friend."
"Oliver Twist."
"Barnaby Rudge," has description of Lord Geo. Gordon, the celebrated convert to Judaism.

DIBDIN, CHARLES,
"The Jew and the Doctor," a drama.
"School for Prejudice," a drama.
"Family Quarrels," a drama.

DRAMAS, with Jewish characters,
"The Hebrew," a dramatization of Ivanhoe, 1820.
"Jack Sheppard."
"Flying Scud."

"Jew of Aragon," 1808.
"Jew of Lubeck," 1819.
"Maid of Judah," dramatization from "Ivanhoe," 1829.
"The Maid and the Magpie."
"New Babylon."
"Oliver Twist," a play from the novel.
"Queen's Evidence."
"Rebecca."
"Ticket-of-Leave Man."
"The World."

"DON ADRIAN, OF THE HARP OF JUDA," dramatic poem in ten parts (pro-Jewish), 1849.

DUNSCOMBE, T. S.,
"The Jews of England, their History and Wrongs," 1866.

EDGEWORTH, MARIA,
"Harrington" 1817.

EGAN, CHARLES,
"Status of the Jews in England," 1848.

ELIOT, GEORGE,
"Daniel Deronda," 1876.
"The Spanish Gypsy,' a poem.

"ESSAY ON THE COMMERCIAL HABITS OF THE JEWS," (against naturalization), 1809.

ETHERIDGE, J. W.,
"Jerusalem and Tiberias, Sora and Cordova, a survey of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews," (a capable and sympathetic work), 1856.

EWING, GREVILLE,
"Essays Addressed to the Jews," 2 vols. 1809-10.

FENTON, JOHN,
"Early Hebrew Life," 1880.

FERNALD,
"The Ghetto," (a novel, oppressively realistic).

FRIEND, EMIL,
"Masks," a novel, 1905.

FREDERIC, HAROLD,
"The New Exodus," deals with Russian persecutions, 1892.

GERARD, DOROTHEA,
"Orthodox," 1888.
"Recha," 1890.
"Improbable Idyl, An." 1905.

GILBERT, W. S.,
"Creatures of Impulse," musical tale, with Jewish character.

GOLDSMITH, OLIVER,
"Haunch of Venison."

GOULD, REV. S. BARING,
"Court Royal," a novel, 1886.
"Legends of Patriarchs and Prophets."
"Noemi," a story of the Rockdwellers, the heroine is an Amazonian Jewess, 1895.

GORDON, W. EVANS,
"The Economic Side of Alien Immigration" (anti-Jewish), 1904.

GOSSE, PHILIP HENRY,
"History of the Jews," 1851.

GRAHAM, WINIFRED,
"The Zionists" (inter-marriage problem), 1902.

GRIEG, HILDA, see Grier, Sidney C.

GRIER, SYDNEY C.,
"The Kings of the East" (has scheme of a Jewish syndicate for repossession of Palestine as motive), 1900

HAGGARD, H. RIDER,
"Benita," 1902.
"Pear Maiden," a tale of fall of Jerusalem, 1903.
"The World's Desire" (with Andrew Lang), a story of the exodus from Egypt, 1891.

HALES, A. G.,
"The Watcher of the Tower," 1904.

HALLAM, HENRY,
"Literary History of Europe" (Introduction to the Literature of Europe, during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries), 1838-9.

HARRY, MYRIAM,
"Conquest of Jerusalem," 1905.

HART, J.,
"A Levantine Log-book" (caps. 9-14 deal with Jews, 1905.

HATTON, JOSEPH,
"By Order of the Czar, or the Tragic Story of Anna Klopstock, Queen of the Ghetto," 1890.

HAYNES, M. G.,
"Great Thinkers" (a section on Judaism), 1905.

HAZLITT, WILLIAM,
"Emancipation of the Jews" (in vol. XII. of collected works), 1906.

HERBERT, CAPT. F. W. VON,
"The Jews of the Near East," (a sociological study), 1906.

HINE, JAMES A.,
"History of the Jews from Titus to the Present Time," 1841.

"HISTORICAL TREATISE CONCERNING JEWS AND JUDAISM IN ENGLAND, AN," Lon., 1820.

"HISTORY OF JEWS OF ALL AGES," 1832.

HOBBES, JOHN OLIVER, see Mrs. Craigie.

HOUGHTON, LOUISE H.,
"Hebrew Life and Thought" (a thoughtful and sympathetic volume), 1906.
"Telling Bible Stories," 1908.

JEFFREYS, L. D.,
"Ancient Hebrew Names, Notes on their Significance and Historical Value," 1905.

JERROLD, DOUGLAS,
"The Painter of Ghent," a drama.
"The Prisoner of War," a drama.

JERUSALEM, DESTRUCTION OF, a theme for fiction,
"Salathiel, the Immortal," REV. G. CROLY, 1827.
"The Gladiators," 1863, a tale of Rome and Judea, 1885 G. J. W. MELVILLE.
"Julian, or Scenes in Judea," WM. WARE.
"Naomi, or Last Days of Jerusalem," MRS. J. B. WEBB. 1840.

JONES, HENRY A.,
"Judah Llewellyn," a drama, with half-Jewish hero.

KEARY, C. F.,
"Broken Playthings," a novel of sorrow and despair, 1906.

KELLY, W. PATRICK,
"The Assyrian Bride," 1905.

KINGSCOTE, MRS., see Lucas Cleeve.

KINGSLEY, FLORENCE MORSE,
"The Cross Triumphant," a study of the rise of Christianity from the Hebraic point of view, 1900.

KIPLING, RUDYARD,
Two short stories in volume called "Life's Handicap."
"The Wandering Jew," significant in name only.
"The Jews of Shushan," an inconsequential story, but with the Kipling touch.

KNOWLES, SHERIDAN,
"The Maid of Mariendorpt," a drama, 1839.

LANIER, SIDNEY,
"The English Novel," see caps. XI. and XII.

LAMB, CHARLES AND MARY,
"Elizabethan Dramatist."

LANG, ANDREW,
"The World's Desire," see H. Rider Haggard.

LANGBRIDGE, FREDERIC,
"The Vision of Rabbi Nathan," a poem, in "Leisure Hour," 1894.

LEA, DR. H. C.,
"A History of the Inquisition in Spain," 4 vols., 1906.

LECKY, WM. E. H.,
"History of Rationalism in Europe," (Vol. II.), 1903.

LEMOINE, HENRY,
"A Eulogy on David Levi," a poem, see *supra*, cap. VII.

LEVER, CHARLES JAMES,
"That Boy of Norcott's," 1869.

LEWIS, DAVID,
"Address to the Jews," 1800.

"THE LIMB," an anonymous novel.

BULWER-LYTTON, SIR EDWARD,
"My Novel."
"Leila."

MACAULAY, THOMAS B.,
"Civil Disabilities of the Jews," in book of essays.
"Life and Letters," has friendly references.

McCAUL, ALEXANDER,
"Old Paths," an attack upon Judaism.
"Sketches of Judaism and the Jews," 1838.

MACCHEYNE, ROBT. MURRAY,
"Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland," 2 vols. 1842 (with Rev. A. Bonar).

MACFARREN,
"Malvina," comic opera with Jewish character.

MCAFEE, C. B.,
"Mosaic Law in Modern Life," 1906.

MACKINTOSH, W.,
"Gleanings from the Talmud, Selected and newly translated into English," 1905.

MAURIER, GEO. DU,
"Trilby," a novel with Jewish character, Svengali.

MELVILLE, G. J. W.,
"The Gladiators," a tale of Rome and Judea, 1863.

MEREDITH, GEORGE,
"The Tragic Comedians," a study in a well-known study, being versions of incidents in the life of Ferdinand Lasalle.

MERRIMAN, H. SETON,
"One of the Conquerors," has Jewish references.

MILMAN, DEAN HENRY HART,
"History of the Jews," 1829.
"The Fall of Jerusalem," a dramatic poem, in book of poems, 1829.

MILLS, REV. JOHN,
"The British Jews," being a full digest of the Domestic Habits, Religious Ceremonies, and Social Conditions of the Jews of England, 1853.

MITCHELL, C. S.,
"Record of Events connected with the History of the Jews, 1849.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER,
"History of the Jews," 1875.

MULLER, PROF. MAX,
"Are there Jews in Cornwall?" in "Chips," III., pp. 299-329.

NOBLE, JAMES,
"Orientalist, or Letters of a Rabbi," Glasgow, 1832.

OESTERLY, REV. W., see Rev. Geo. Box.

OLIPHANT, LAURENCE,
"The Jew and the Eastern Question," in "Nineteenth Century," August, 1882.

PENLEY, a version of "The Rich Jew af Malta," 1818.

PEPPERCORNE, ROBT. J. W.,
"The Laws of the Hebrews Relating to the Poor and the Stranger," Edinburgh, 1840.

PHILLIPS, STEPHEN,
"Herod," a tragedy, 1901.

PICKERING EDW.,
"The Dogs of War," has an anachronistic reference to Jews selling clothes outside of Bristol, in 1648.

PLANCHE,
"The Jewess," an adaptation of La Juive, given at "Drury Lane" in 1835.

POTTER,
A dramatization of "Trilby," emphasizing the evil of the Jewish character, Svengali.

PRICHARD, C. H.,
"Elijah and other Poems," 1906.

RAINE, ROSA,
"Restoration of the Jews," 1860.

RAMSAY, PROF. W. M.,
"Letters to the Seven Churches," 1904, chapter XII. is on "The Jews in Asian Cities."

RAWNSBY, CANON,
"Christmas 1905," a poem on the suffering of the Russian Jews.

READE, CHAS.,
"It is Never Too Late to Mend."

REDE, LEMAN,
"The Skeleton Witness," a drama.

REID, WM. HAMILTON,
"The New Sanhedrin, and the causes and consequences of the French Emperor's conduct toward the Jews," 1809.

RICHARDSON, SIR BENJAMIN WARD,
"Son of a Star," an incident of the Bar Kochbah revolution.

RIGBY, MISS,
"The Jewess," 1843.

RIGG, J. M.,
"Select Pleas, Starrs, and other Records from the Exchequer of the Jews," from 1220-1284., 1902.

ROBERTS, SAMUEL,
"The Jews, the English Poor and the Gypsies," 1848.

ROBERTSON, J.,
"History of the Jews," 1852.

RULE, W. J.,
"History of Karaite Jews," 1862.

RUSSELL, LORD JOHN,
"Jewish Disabilities," a speech delivered in the House of Commons, Dec. 1847, on the Jewish Disabilities, 1848.

SARCHI, PHILIP,
"An Essay on Hebrew Poetry, ancient and modern," 1824.

SCOTT, WALTER,
"Ivanhoe," a novel, 1819.

SHARP, S.,
"History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature," 1869.

SHAW, G. BERNARD,
"Man and Superman," a drama.

SHELLEY, PERCY BYSSHE,
"Ahasuerus," canto VII of "Queen Mab."

SHIEL, MATHEW PHIPPS,
"The Lord of the Sea," a novel with hero a Jewish naval Napoleon, 1901.

SIMEON, CHARLES,
"Discourses on behalf of Jews," in "Simeon's Select Works," 2 Vols., 1854.

SMITH, GOLDWIN, articles on Jews (antagonistic) in
"Nineteenth Century," Nov., 1882.
"The Independent," June, 1906.

SMITH, HORACE,
"Zillah, a tale of the Holy City," 3 vols. 1828.

"SPEECHES (of various members of Parliament) ON MR GRANT'S MOVING A RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE CIVIL DISABILITIES OF THE JEWS, 1833.

STANLEY, ARTHUR PENRHYN, D. D.,
"Sinai and Palestine in conection with their History," a well-written book of travel, containing an interesting elucidation of the history of the Jews, 1856.

SWINBURNE, A.,
"Russian Persecutions of the Jews," a sonnet, 1882.

SYMONDS J. A.(?)
"The Jews' Cemetery, Lido of Venice."

TALFOURD, FRANK,
"The Merchant of Venice Preserved," a travestie.

TAYLOR, SIR HENRY,
"A Sicilian Summer."

THACKERAY, WM. M.,
"Rebecca and Rowena," a romance upon a romance, a parody on "Ivanhoe," 1880.
"Codlingsby."

THURSTON, KATHERINE CECIL,
"The Circle," a novel, 1900.

TOWNLEY, J.,
"Maimonides, the Reasons of the Laws of Moses, from the 'Guide of the Perplexed,'" 1827.

TOWNSEND, M.,
"Asia and Europe," an ethnological work that has perverted theories about the Jews, 1905.

TRENCH, ARCHBISHOP,
"The Righteous World."
"The Lost Jewels," "Alexander at the Gates of Paradise," poetical versions of Talmudic tales.

TROLLPOE, THOS. ADOLPHUS,
"What I Remember," a book of reminiscences that has a number of references to Jews, 1887.

VILLARI, LUIGI,
"Russia under the Great Shadow," tells of the civic and economic value of Jews.

WARD, MRS. HUMPHREY,
"Sir George Tressady," a novel.

WHITE, ARNOLD,
"The Modern Jew," 1899.
"For Efficiency," 1902, both unsympathetic.

WHITE, WM. HALE,
"Clara Hopgood," a novel with Jewish character, 1896.

WHISTLER, CHARLES,
"For King or Empress," a novel, with two Jewish characters.

WILSON, MRS. AUGUSTA EVANS,
"At the Mercy of Tiberius," a novel, with erroneous reference to Jewish customs.

WILKINSON, REV. SAM'L H., and

WINGATE, SIR ANDREW,
"Anti-Semitism, its Cause and Cure," 1907 (conversionistic).

WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM,
"Song for the Wandering Jew," a modern version of the Prioresses' Tale."
"A Jewish Family."

WRIGHT, C. H.,
"The Book of Isaiah and other Essays," has interesting theories on various matters of Jewish interest, 1905.

WITHERBY, T.,
"A Vindication of the Jews, by way of reply to a Letter addressed by Perseverans to Hebrew Israelites," 1804.
"An Attempt to Remove Prejudices against the Hebrew Nation," 1804.
"An Attempt to Remove Prejudices against the Jews, 1814.

APPENDIX B.

A List of Jewish Authors.

PRE-ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, traveler and scholar, visited England 1158, and wrote while there:
"Yesod Moreh" the Foundation of Religion.
"Iggereth Shabbes," a Sabbath Epistle (trans. into English by Jos. Jacobs, Jewish Chronicle, Jan., 1882).

BENEDICTUS LE PUNCTEUR (Heb., Berechiah ben Natronai Ha-Nakdan), latter half of twelfth century.
"Mishle Shu'alim," Fox Fables, 113 fables, MS. in Bodleian Library.
A Commentary on the Book of Job, MS. in Cam. Un. Library.
A Commentary on the Bible.
"Sefer Matzref," an ethical treatise (MSS. at Munich and Parma), ed. by Prof. Gollancz, Lon., 1902.
A Translation of Adelard of Bath's "Quaestiones Naturales."
A Translation of a work on mineralogy, MS. in Bodl. Lib.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, a traveller of twelfth century.
"Travels of Rabbi Benjamin," trans. into five different languages, five different English editions.

ELCHANAN BEN ISAAC, poet and astronomer of twelfth century.
"Sod Ha-Ibbur," The Secret of the Calendar, an astronomical work. Wrote also a number of poems.

JACOB BEN JEHUDAH, of London.
"Etz Chayim," The Tree of Life, ritualistic work written 1287, MS. extant at Leipsic.

MEIR BEN ELIAS, of Norwich, a poet.
A number of poems, one long and fifteen smaller ones; also an acrostic of author's name. Ed., A. Berliner, "Heb. Poesien von Meir ben Elias aus Norwich," Lon., 1887, from MS. in Vatican Library.

MOSES BEN ISAAC, of London, grammarian and lexicographer of late twelfth century.
"Leshon Limmudim."
"Sefer Ha-Shoham," Onyx Book, Heb. Lexicon and Gram., ed. G. W. Collins, 1883. An important work.

MOSES BEN YOMTOB,
"Darke Nikkud," Rules of Punctuation, a work on grammar.

RABBI JACOB, of Orleans, (killed at coronation of Richard I., 1182).
Biblical writer and commentator.

RUBI GOTSCE—Rabbi Joce—Rabbi Joseph, twelfth century.
A Commentary on the Pentateuch.

SAMUEL HA-NAKDAN, twelfth century.
Bible critic and commentator.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ABENDANA, ISAAC, 1650-1710, (Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, later Prof. of Hebrew at Oxford).
Published Hebrew Calendars, 1695-6.
"Discourses on the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity of the Jews," 1706.

ARYEH, JACOB JUDAH (called Templo).
"A Relation of the Most Memorable Things in the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon, according to the Text of Scripture," (written in English, but printed at Amsterdam), 1675. Templo made a model of the Temple, which was shown to, and admired by, Charles II.

*BARGISHAI, ELEASAR.
"A Brief Compendium of the Vain Hopes of the Jewish Messias, the Ignorant Fables of the Rabbies, and the Confuting of the Jewes Religion," by E. B., a born Jew, for the upholding of Christianity, 1652.

* Convert to Christianity.

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL,

"Conciliador" (trans. into English by E. H. Lindo, 1904), 1642.

"The Hope of Israel," a treatise on the Lost Ten Tribes, with preface dedicated to Parliament, aroused great interest in England, three editions between 1650-52.

"Vindiciae Judaeorum," a reply to Prynne's "Demurrer," 1656.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ALEXANDER, LEVY, author and printer.

ALMEIDA, MANUELA NUNEZ D', poetess.

BARUH, RAPHAEL, author.

BELMONTE, BIENVENIDA COHEN, poetess.

BRAVO, ABRAHAM, one of the earliest of Anglo-Jewish poets, eulogized in English verse the "Espejo Fiel de Vidas" of Laguna, 1720.

BUZAGLO, ABRAHAM (or William), author and inventor.

COSTA, EMANUEL MENDEZ D', scientific writer and antiquarian, F. R. S.

"A Natural History of Fossils."

"Elements of Conchology, etc." 1776.

"British Conchology," 1778.

Various papers to "Philosophical Transactions," etc.

EISENSTADT, JACOB,

"Toledot Yaakob," a homiletical work, mentioned because it was the first Hebrew book printed in London.

FERNANDEZ, BENJAMIN D., author.

KING, JOHN, dramatist.

LEVI, DAVID,

"Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews," 1783.

"Lingua Sacra," a dictionary, 3 vols. 1785-7.

"Replies to Dr. 'Priestly's Letters to the Jews,'" 1787-9.

"Pentateuch in Hebrew and English," 1789.

"A Translation of Heb. Prayers and Services" into English, 1789.

"Dissertations on Prophecies," 2 vols. 1793.

"Defence of the Old Testament," a Reply to Thos. Paine's "Age of Reason," 1797.

Various Odes on special occasions.

LEVI, PHILIP,
"Hebrew Grammar," Oxon. 1705.

LEVISON, G.,
"Essay on Blood," 1776.
"Epidemical Sore Throat," 1778.

LYONS, ISRAEL, teacher of Hebrew at Un. of Cambridge.
"Scholars' Instructor, or Heb. Grammar," 1757, 4th ed., 1823.
"Observations and Enquiries Relating to Various Parts of Scripture History," Cam. Press, 1768.

LYONS, ISRAEL (son of above), scientific writer.
"Treatise on Fluxions, 1758.
"Fasciculus Plantarum cirta Cantabrigiam Nascentium," etc. 1763.

LYON, S.,
"Hebrew Grammar," 1799.
"On an Antique Medal," 1810.

MENDEZ, MOSES, poet and operatic writer,
"Double Disappointment," ballad opera, 1746 and 1759.
"The Chaplet," opera, words by Mendez, 1749.
"Robin Hood," 1750.
"Shepherd's Lottery," 1751.
"Henry and Blanch," a prose work, from French of Gil Blas.
"The Seasons," poetical work, in imitation of Spenser.
"The Squire of Dames," also an imitation of Spenser.
"Battiad," a satire on Dr. Wm. Battie.
"The Blatant Beast," 1792.
Also translated Mapaeus' continuation of Virgil's Aeneid, 1767.

MOCATTA, MOSES, author.

MOREIRA, JACOB R.,
"The Congregation of Jacob," a standard work on the Hebrew language, circa 1773.

PIMENTAL, ABRAHAM JACOB HENRIQUES, author.

PIMENTAL, SARA DE FONESCA Y, poetess.

SCHOMBERG, SIR ALEXANDER, a naval officer.
"A Sea Manual Recommended to Young Officers of the Navy," 1789.

SCHOMBERG RALPH,
"An Ode to Present Rebellion," 1746.
"An Account of the Present Rebellion," 1746.
"Death of Bucephalus," a burlesque, 1765.
"Life of Maecenas," 1767.
"Judgment of Paris," 1768.
"Fashion," a poem, 1775.
"A Critical Dissertation on the Writings of Pindar and Horace."
A number of medical works.
"Aphorismi Practici," 1750.
"Physical Rhapsody," 1751, "Medico Mastix," 1771.

TANG, ABRAHAM, a Biblical commentator, whose work showed acquaintance with philosophical and classical writings.
"A Treatise on Ecclesiastes," 1771.
"A Treatise on Talmudical Passages," 1772.

VAN OVEN, ABRAHAM,
Translated Congreve's "Mourning Bride" into Hebrew, circa 1770.

FROM EIGHTEEN HUNDRED UP TO DATE.*

ABRAHAM, PHILIP (1803-1890),
"Autobiography of a Jewish Gentleman," 1860.
"Autumn Gatherings," prose and poetry, 1866.
"The Secret and the Revealed Things," a religious work, title in Hebrew.
"Curiosities of Judaism, Facts, Opinions, Anecdotes, and Remarks Relative to the Hebrew Nation," 1879.

ABRAHAMS, B. LOUIS, b. 1869,
"Expulsion of the Jews in 1290," Oxford, 1895.
"Dictionary of Terms Used in Medicine," 1905.

ABRAHAMS, LOUIS BARNETT,
"A Manual of Scripture History for Jewish Schools," 1882.
"A Translation of the Prayer Book for school use."
"A Chronological History of England."

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*NOTE.—The names marked with an asterisk (*) are of those authors, born into the Jewish faith, who became converts to other faiths.

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL,
"Aspects of Judaism," (with C. Montefiore), 1895.
"Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," 1896.
"Chapters on Jewish Literature," 1888.
"Maimonides" (with David Yellin), 1903.
"Hebrew Lesson Book" (with Alice Lucas), 1903.
"Short History of Jewish Literature," 1906.
"Festival Studies," 1906.
"Judaism," 1907.

ADLER, ELKAN N.,
"Egyptian and Persian Jews," a series of articles contributed to the J. Q. R.
"About Hebrew MSS.," 1905.
"Jews in Many Lands," a book of travel, 1905.

ADLER, HERBERT M.,
"A Summary of the Laws of Corporations," 1903.

ADLER, HERMANN, DR., Chief Rabbi of England,
"Chief Rabbis of England," 1887.
"Sermons on Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in Support of Dogmas of their Faith."
"Ibn Gabirol, and his Relation to Scholastic Philosophy," an essay.
"Jewish Reply to Bishop Colenso."
"A Reply to Goldwin Smith."

ADOLPHUS, JOHN, a historian.

AFLALO, GEO. FREDERICK, a writer on sport, b. 1870,
"Sea Fishing on the English Coast," 1891.
"The Sea and the Rod" (with C. T. Paske), 1892.
"Myamma," (editor), 1893.
"Sunny Dover," (Ed.), 1894.
"Round the World with a Gaiety Girl" (with G. Bantock), 1896.
"A Sketch of the Natural History of Australia," 1896.
"Literary Year Book," 1897.
"Sea Fish," 1897.
"The Encyclopedia of Sport," ed., 1897.
"A Sketch of the Natural History of the British Isles, 1898.
"The Cost of Sport," 1899.
"Types of British Animals," 1899.

"A Walk Through the Zoological Gardens," 1900.
"Sea and Coast Fishing," 1901.
"Lord Granville's Sporting Reminiscences," 1902.
"British Salt Water Fishes," 1904.
"Sportsman's Book for India," 1904.
"Sea Fishing Industry of England and Wales," 1904.
"Lord Malmesbury's Half Century of Sport," 1905.
"Salt of My Life," 1905.
"Fisherman's Weatner," ed., 1906.
"Sunshine and Sport in Florida and the West Indies," 1907.
"The Call of the Sea," 1907.

AFLALO, MOSES,
"The Truth About Morocco," 1904.

AGUILAR, GRACE (1816-1847).
"The Magic Wreath," a book of poems, 1835.
"Home Scenes and Heart Studies," 1843.
"The Perez Family," 1843.
"The Edict."
"The Escape."
"Home Influence," 1847.
"The Mother's Recompense," 1850.
"Woman's Friendship," 1851.
"Days of Bruce," 1852.
"The Vale of Cedars, or the Martyr; a Tale of Spain of the Fifteenth Century," 1850.
"Women of Israel," 1845.
"Essays and Miscellanies," 1851-2.
"History of the Jews of England," her last work.
Religious works are as follows:
"Israel Defended."
"The Spirit of Judaism," 1845.
"The Jewish Faith, etc.," 1846.
"Sabbath Thoughts," by G. A., pub. by her mother, 1853.

ALBRECHT, DR. K., see Dr. H. Brody.

ALBU, I.,
"A Word in Season," a homiletic work, 1853.

ALEXANDER, SAMUEL, b. 1859.
"Moral Order and Progress," 1889.
"Mind," a series of philosophical essays.

ANGEL, MOSES (Headmaster of Jews Free School), 1819-1898.
"The Law of Sinai and its Appointed Times," 1858.
"The Pentateuch," a series of essays.

ASCHER, ISIDOR GORDON, b. 1835.
"A Social Upheaval," 1898.
"The Doom of Destiny," 1895.

ASHER, DR. ASHER, physician and publicist, pen-name "Aliquis," (1837-1889).
"Jewish Rite of Circumcision," 1873.

AVIGDOR, ELIM D', d. 1895 (pen-name, Wanderer), publisher and engineer; published
"The Examiner."
"The Yachting Gazette."
Hunting stories.

BALLIN, ADA S.,
"Bathing, Exercise and Rest, 1896.
"Early Education," 1897.
"Health and Beauty," 1892.
"How to Feed the Little Ones," 1895.
"Personal Hygiene," 1897.
"Kindergarten System Explained," 1896.
"Children's Ailments," 1898.
"Baby's First Year," 1904.
"Expectant Motherhood," 1903.
"From Cradle to School," 1902.

BARKER, J. ELLIS, see O. J. Eltzbacher.

BARNETT, C. Z.,
"The Rise of the Rothschilds, or the Honest Jew of Frankfort," a drama, 1830.
"The Ways of Our Tribe, or the Rich Man of Frankfort," a drama, 1830.

BARNETT, LIONEL D., b. 1871, in charge of Oriental dept., British Museum.
"History of Greek Drama," 1900.
Trans. Koch's "Roman History."
"Bhagavadgita," 1905.
"Hinduism," 1906.

*BARNETT, PERCY A., b. 1858.
"New Morell; English Grammar and Analysis," 1896.
"Teaching and Organization," 1897.
"Common Sense in Education and Teaching," 1899.
"Speaking," 1898.
"Natal; the State and the Citizen" (with G. W. Sweeney), 1904.
"Little Book of Health and Courtesy," 1905.

*BARON, DAVID,
"Jewish Problem," 1892.
"Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew," 1900.
"Types, Psalms and Prophecies," 1900.
"Divine Forecast of Jewish History," 1905.
"Israel's Inalienable Possessions," 1906.
"Robinson Crusoe in Latin," 1907.

BEER, RACHEL SASSOON,
Ed. of "Sunday Times," since 1893.

BEHEREND, DR. HENRY, a brilliant medical writer (1828-1903),
Contributed essays to leading journals on
"The Late Cholera Epidemic," 1852.
"Communicability of Diseases from Animals to Man."
"A Defense of the Mosaic Regulations," regarding slaughter of animals, also
"An Essay on the Post-Biblical History of the Jews."

BELISARIO, MIRIAM MENDES (1820-1885),
"Hebrew and English Vocabulary," 1848.
"Sabbath Evenings at Home," 1856.

BELL, J. FREEMAN, see Louis Cowen.

BENAS, BARON L., b. 1844,
"History of the Liverpool Community," 1900, was also a prolific writer on social, economic and antiquarian topics.

BENHAM, ARTHUR, di d 1895, in his twentieth year,
"The County," a drama.
"The Awakening," a drama.

BENJAMIN, JUDAH P.,
"A Treatise on the Sale of Personal Property, etc," 1883.

BENJAMIN, LEWIS S., see Lewis Melville.

BENISCH, ABRAHAM, author.

BENMOHEL, NATHAN LAZARUS, 1800-1869, the first conforming Jew to obtain a degree in a British University,
"Orthographia Hebraeo-Anglicana," not published) 1830.
"An Essay in Verse, being a Comparison between the History of the Children of Israel during their Journey from Egypt to the Promised Land, and that of the Reformation."
"Primitive Ethnology, Tending to be a Guide and a Basis," etc.

BENNETT, SOLOMON, a writer on Biblical topics, 1780-1841,
"The Constancy of Israel," 1812.
"Discourses on Sacrifice," 1815.
"The Temple of Ezekiel," 1824.
"Critical Remarks on the Authorized Version," 1834.

*BENOLIEL, MAXWELL M.,
"Prophecy, an Evidence of Inspiration," 1891.
"Persecution of Mrs. Isabella Spiers," 1898.

BENSUSAN, SAMUEL L., b. 1872,
"Morocco," 1904.
"Picturesque Normandy," 1904.
"Solomon J. Solomon," 1903.
"Man in the Moon," 1906.
"Wonderful Adventures of Mr. Rabbit and Uncle Fox," 1906.
"A Countryside Chronicle," 1907.
"Reynolds," 1907.
"Velasquez," 1907.
"Wild Life Stories," 1907.

BENTWICH, NORMAN,
"The Law of Private Property in War," with a chapter on Conquest, 1907.

*BERNARD, HERMAN H., 1785-1857.
"The Creed and Ethics of the Jews," 1832.
"Guide of the Hebrew Student," 1839.
"Still Waters," a grammar (with P. H. Mason), 1853.

BRANDIN, LOUIS M., b. 1874,
"Francois Villon," 1901.
"The Chatelaine of Vergi," 1903.
"Book of French Prosody" (with W. G. Hartog), 1904.
"History of Folk Fitz—Warine," 1904.
"The Song of Roland," 1907.

BRODY, DR. H.,
"The New Hebrew School of Poets of the Spanish Arabian Epoch," an annotated collection of poems by Hebrew writers, 1906.

BUCHHEIM, CHARLES ADOLPHUS, 1828-1900, Prof. of Ger. Lang. and Lit. at Kings College, Lon., author of critical works on German writers,
"First Principles of the Reformation."

CARVALHO, CLARA N.,
"Otterburn Chase," 1898.

CHAIKIN, AVIGDOR, b. 1852.
"The Celebrities of the Jews, etc.," Sheffield, 1899.

CHOTZNER, JOSEPH, b. 1844.
"Modern Judaism," 1876.
"Hebrew Humour and other Essays," 1905.

COHN, ALBERT,
"Shakespeare in Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries, an account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands, and of the plays performed by them in the same period," 1865.

COHEN, ALFRED, pen-name "Alan Dale," critic and author, b. 1861,
"Jonathan's Home," 1885.

COHEN, A. J.,
"Familar Chats with the Queens of the Stage," 1891.

COHEN, B. A.,
"Laws of Copyright," 1896.

COHEN, E. ARAKIE,
"The London Building Acts, 1894-1905," 1906.

COHEN, E.,
"On the Meteoric Stone which fell at the Station of St. Marks, Jan. 3, 1902," 1906.

COHEN, HERMAN J.,
"Mr. Gladstone's Speeches" (with A. W. Hutton), 1894.
"The Law of Cabs in London," 1899.
"Trade Unions Law and Cases," 1901.
"Present and Future of Trade Unions" (with A. H. Ruegg), 1906.

COHEN, DR. LASSAR,
"Chemistry in Daily Life," 1896.
"Laboratory Manual of Organic Chemistry," 1895.
"Introduction to Scientific Chemistry," 1903.

COHEN, FRANCIS, see Lord Palgrave.

COHEN, JULIUS B.,
"Air of Towns," 1897.
"Practical Organic Chemistry for Advanced Students," 1901.
"Theoretical Organic Chemistry," 1903.

COWEN, LAWRENCE,
"Greater Bristol," 1902.

COLLINS, EDWIN,
"Rabbi Bachyeh's Duties of the Heart," 1905.
"The Wisdom of Israel," 1906.

COSTA, ISAAK DA,
"Israel and the Gentiles; Contributions to the History of the Jews," (trans. by Kenedy).

COSTELLO, PIERRE,
"A Sinner in Israel, a novel of Jewish Life," 1907.

COURLANDER, ALPHONSE, b. 1881.
"Perseus and Andromeda," 1903.
"Seth of the Cross," 1903.
"The Taskmaster," 1904.
"The Sacrifice," 1907.

COWEN, LOUIS, pen-name, J. Freeman Bell,
collaborator with I. Zangwill in
"Premier and Painter," 1893.
"The Great Demonstration," 1892.

DALE, ALAN, see Alfred Cohen.

*DARMESTETTER, JAMES, Anglo-French Orientalist, 1849-1894.
"A Translation of the Avesta," 1880.
An edition of "Childe Harolde," 1882.
"Essay on English Literature," (in French), 1883.
An edition of "Macbeth," 1884.
"A Book on Shakespeare," 1889.
"English Studies," 1896.

DAVIDS, ARTHUR LUMLEY, Orientalist, died at 21 years of age, in 1832,
Articles on the "Emancipation of the Jews," 1830.
"Grammar of the Turkish Language," 1831.

DANBY, FRANK, see Mrs. Julia Frankau.

DAVIDSON, ELLIS A., architectural and technical writer, 1828-1878.
"Houses and What they are made of," 1869.
"Our Food, a useful book for Boys and Girls," 1870.
"Drawings for Carpenters and Joiners."
"Gothic Stonework, a History of Church Architecture," 1874.
"The Amateur Carpenter."

DAVIS, FREDERICK, archaeologist, 1843-1900.
"History of the Discovery of the Roman British City of Chilchester."
"The Etymology of some Derbyshire Race Names."
"Misnomers," unfinished at time of death, 1900.

DAVIS, ISRAEL,
"Jews in Roumania."

DAVIS, JAMES, journalist and playwright, b. 1848.
Ed. of "The Bat," a society paper, 1885-7, and of Galignani's "Messenger," in Paris, 1888-90.
Composer of the comic operas,
"A Gaiety Girl,"
"An Artist's Model,"
"The Geisha,"
"A Greek Slave,"
"Florodora,"
Since 1899 ed. weekly paper, "The Phoenix."

DAVIS, MYER DAVID, D. 1830,
"Shetaroth, Hebrew Deeds of English Jews," 1888.
"Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln," in Archaeological Journal, XXXVIII., pp. 178 et seq.
Articles on mediaeval Jews in various periodicals.
Ed. of "Jewish World," 1873-5.

*DAVIS, NATHAN, 1812-1882,
"Tunis, or Selections, etc.," archaeological, 1841.
"A Voice from North Africa," 1844.
"Evenings in My Tent," 1854.

"Ruined Cities in Numidian and Carthaginian Territories," 1861.
"Carthage and Her Remains," 1861.
"Israel's True Emancipator," 1852.
"Arabic Reading Lessons," 1854.

DAVIS, NINA,
"Poems and Hebrew Translations," 1895.
"Songs of Exile," 1905.

DANZIGER, ADOLPH,
"A Man, a Woman and a Million," 1902.
"Jewish Forerunners of Christianity," 1904.

DEAN, MRS. ANDREW, see Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick.

DEFRIES, ESTHER PHOEBE,
"A Browning Primer," 1892.

DELAFORCE, ESTHER,
"Snacks," 1903.

DE LISSA, ALFRED,
"Companies and Mining Law in N. S. W. and Victoria," 1894.

DELPINI, CARLO dramatist.

DEUTSCH, EMANUEL OSCAR, 1829-1873,
"Literary Remains," 1874.

D'ISRAELI BENJAMIN, 1804-1881,
"The Modern Dunciad," a poem, 1826.
"Vivian Grey," 1826-7.
"The Young Duke," 1831.
"Contarini Fleming," 1832.
"The Wondrous Tale of Alroy," 1833.
"The Rise of Iskander," 1834.
"The Revolutionary Epic," 1834.
"Venetia," 1837.
"Henrietta Temple," 1837.
"The Tragedy of Count Alarcos," 1839.
"Coningsby," 1844.
"Sybil," 1845.
"Tancred," 1847.
"Life of Lord George Bentinck," 1852.
"Lothair," 1870.
"Endymion," 1880.

"Letters" from 1832-52.
Three burlesques:
"The Infernal Marriage,"
"Ixion in Heaven,"
"Popanilla."
Minor political works:
"What Is He?" 1823.
"The Present Crisis Examined," 1834.
"Vindication of the British Constitution," 1835,
"Letters of Runnymede," 1836.

D'ISRAELI, ISAAC, 1776-1848,
A vindication of Dr. Johnson's character, in "Gentleman's Magazine," 1786.
"A Defense of Poetry," a book of verse, 1790.
"Curiosities of Literature," six vols., 1791-1834.
"A Dissertation on Anecdotes," 1793.
"An Essay on Literary Character," 1795.
"Miscellanies of Literature," 1796.
"Calamities of Authors," 1812-13.
"Quarrels of Authors," 1814.
"Commentary on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," 5 vols. 1828-30.
"Genius of Judaism," 1833.
"Amenities of Literature," 1840.
"Vaurien," a novel, 1797.
"Flim-Flams, or the Life of my Uncle," a novel, 1797.
"Mejnoun and Leila, the Arabian Petrarch and Laura," a novel, 1797.
"Despotism, or the Fall of the Jesuits," a novel, 1811.

DOLARO, SELINA, actress and authoress, 1852-1889,
"Justice," a drama.
"Fashion," a drama.
"Bella Demoina," a novel.
"Mes Amours," autobiography.

ECKENSTEIN, LINA,
"The Little Princess and the Great Plot," 1892.
"Woman under Monasticism," 1896.
"Albrecht Durer," 1902.
"Through the Casentino," 1902.
"Comparative Study in Nursery Rhymes," 1906.

ELTZBACHER, OTTO J.,
"Modern Germany," 1905.
"Rise and Decline of the Netherlands," 1906.

EMANUEL, CHARLES H. L., b. 1868,
"Alien Immigration" (with Bradshaw), 1904.
"How to Choose a House and How to Take and Keep It," 1906.

EMANUEL, FRANK L.,
"Illustrators of Montmarte," 1904.

EMANUEL, MONTAGUE R.,
"Law of Landlord and Tenant," 1904.
"Law of Contract," 1906.
"Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act," 1906.
"Tales from the Talmud," 1906.
"Law of Married Woman's Contracts," 1907.

EMANUEL, WALTER LEWIS, humorist, b. 1869,
"Me and Some Others," 1901.
"A Dog Day," 1902.
"People," 1903.
"The Snob," 1904.
"Only My Fun," 1905.
"Mr. Punch's Diary of Leading and Misleading Events," 1905.
"Zoo: Scamper," 1905.
"Dogs of War," 1906.
"Paris, a Frolic," 1906.
"Bright Side of Christmas," 1906.
"Never, Being Some Manners for the Multitude," 1907.

FARJEON, BENJAMIN L.,
"Grif," 1870.
"Joshua Marvel," 1871.
"Solomon Isaacs," 1877.
"London's Heart," 1884.
"Great Porter Square," 1884.
"Set in a Silver Sea," 1885.
"The Sacred Nugget," 1886.
"The King of Noland."
"The House of the White Shadows."
"Secret Inheritance," 1890.
"Mystery of M. Felix," 1890-3.

"Very Young Couple," 1890.
"Basil and Annette," 1890-3.
"Young Girl's Life," 1890.
"Peril of Richard Pardon," 1890.
"Nine of Hearts," 1891.
"For the Defense," 1891.
"Toilers of Babylon," 1891.
"Shield of Force," 1891.
"Self-Doomed," 1892.
"March of Fate," 1892.
"Last Tenant," 1893.
"Something Occurred," 1894.
"Duchess of Rosemary Lane," 1894.
"Aaron the Jew," 1894-6.
"Betrayal of John Fordham," 1896-7.
"Miriam Rozella," 1897.
"Golden Land," 1890.
"Blade of Grass," 1899.
"Samuel Boyd of Catchpole Square," 1899.
"The Mesmerists," 1900.
"Bread and Cheese and Kisses," 1901.
"Devlin the Barber," 1901.
"Pride of Race," 1901.
"An Island Pearl," 1902.
"Mystery of the Royal Mail," 1902.
"Dr. Glennie's Daughter," 1903.
"Shadows on the Snow," 1903.
"The Amblers," 1904.
"The Clairvoyante," 1905.
"Mrs. Dimmock's Worries," 1906.

FEINMAN, SIGMUND,
"The Jews in Babylon," a drama, 1905.
"The First Love, or No. 87," a drama, 1906.

FELBERMAN, LOUIS, b. 1861.
"Hungary and Its People," 1892.
"Ancestors of our Future Queen," 1893.
"Land of the Khedive," 1904.
"The House of Teck," 1904.
"British Tribute to Hungary and its King," 1907.

FILLIPOWSKI, (PHILLIP), HIRSCH, mathematician, editor and antiquarian, 1816-1872,
Published and edited a number of Hebrew works.
"Anti-Logarithms," 1849.
Trans. Napier's "Canon of Logarithms" from Latin into English, 1859.
Ed., 1864-66, "Doctrine of Life Annuities and Assurance."
"Biblical Prophecies," 1870.

FOA, EDGAR,
"Relation of Landlord and Tenant," 1891.
"Outline of the Law of Landlord and Tenant," 1906.

FRANKAU, GILBERT,
"The X. Y. Z. of Bridge," 1906.

FRANKAU, MRS. JULIA, (pen-name, Frank Danby), critic and novelist, b. 1864,
"Dr. Phillips, a Maida Vale Idyl," 1887.
"Babes in Bohemia," 1889.
"Pigs in Clover," 1903.
"Eighteenth Century Artists and Engravers," 1904.
"The Life and Works of John Raphael Smith," 1903.
"Eighteenth Century Color Prints," 1900.
"The Sphinx's Lawyer," 1906.
"Baccarat," 1904.
"A Coquette in Crape," 1906.

FRIEDLANDER, MICHAEL, b. 1833.
"Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah," 1873.
"An Essay on the Writings of Ibn Ezra," 1875.
A Translation into English of Maimonides' "Guide to the Perplexed," 1885.
"The Jewish Religion."
Was a contributor to the "Dict. of Natl. Biography."

GASTER, REV. MOSES, lecturer on Slavonic Lit. at Oxford Univ., b. 1856.
"Graeco-Slavonic Literature," 1886.
"Jewish Folklore in the Middle Ages," 1887.
"The Sword of Moses," a work on magic, 1896.
"Chronicles of Jerahmeel," 1899.
"History of Ancient Synagogue of Spanish and Portuguese Jews," 1901.

"Hebrew Illuminated Bibles of Ninth and Tenth Centuries," 1901.

Also a frequent contributor to learned periodicals.

GINGOLD, HELENE,

"Seven Stories," 1893.
"Half a Dozen Transgressions," 1896.
"The Chillingfield Chronicles," 1899.
"Financial Philosophy," 1902.
"Flowers of the Field," 1903.
"Abelard and Heloise," 1906.

GLUCKSTEIN, M.,

"Black, White and Yellow" (with C. W. Saxby), 1904.

*GOLDMAN, CHARLES SIDNEY, b. 1868,

"South African Mines" (with Kitchin), 1895.
"The Financial, etc., History of the Gold and other Companies of the Witwatersraand," 1892.
"With Gen. French and the Cavalry in South Africa," 1902.
"The Empire and the Century," 1905.

GOLDSCHMIDT, MYER A.,

"Jacob Bendix, the Jew," trans. from the Danish, 1851.

GOLDSMID, ANNA MARIA, (1805-1899),

Wrote many pamphlets on educational matters, and translated the following:
"Twelve Sermons," by Salomon Gotthold, 1839.
"Development of the Religious Idea in Judaism," by Phillipson, 1855.
"The Deicides," by J. Cohen, of Marseilles, 1872.
"Educational Code of Prussia," 1872.

GOLDSMID, SIR FRANCIS HENRY, (1808-1878), a writer of political works in connection with the struggle for emancipation,

"Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of British Jews," 1839.
"Two Letters in answer to Objections urged against Mr. Grant's Bill for Relief of Jews," 1830.
"The Arguments against Emancipation of the Jews Considered in a Series of Letters," 1831.
"A Few Words respecting the Enfranchisement of British Jews, addressed to the new Parliament," 1833.

"A Scheme of Peerage Reform, with Reasons for the Scheme, by the youngest of the Tompkinses," 1835.
"Reply to Arguments against the Removal of the Remaining Disabilities of the Jews," 1848.

GOLDSMITH, LEWIS, political writer and journalist, 1763-1846,
"Crimes of Cabinets, etc.," 1801.
"State of the French Republic at the end of year 1800," 1801.
Pub. "Argus," an English journal in Paris.
"Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte," 1810.
"Secret of Bonaparte's Diplomacy."

GOLLANCZ, REV. PROF. HERMAN, Orientalist, and Prof. in Lon. Univ., b. 1852,
"Revised Bible," 1881.
"Maimonides' Guide to the Perplexed," part trans. 1881.
"Labour in the Talmud," (paper at Oriental Congress, 1891).
"A Ramble in East Anglia," 1895.
"Charms from Syriac MSS.," 1897.
"History of Sindban," first Eng. trans., 1897.
"The Amida in Aramaic," first Eng. trans., 1897.
"The Valiant Woman," 1898.
"Ethical Treatises of Berachyah," 1902.
"Clavicula Solomonis," 1903.
"Rabbi Akiba," 1904.
"Russia and the Alien Question," 1905.
"The Mission of Israel and the Whitehall Conference of 1655," 1906.

GOLLANCZ, PROF. ISRAEL, lecturer in Eng. at Cambridge Univ., Prof. of Eng. Lang. and Lit., at King's Coll., Univ. of Lon., editor and Shakespearean scholar,
Edited "Pearl," 1891.
"Cynewulf's Christ," 1892.
"Exeter Book of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," 1895.
"Temple Shakespeare," 1894-6.
"Lamb's Specimens of Elizabethan Dramatists," 1895.
"The Parliament of the Three Ages," 1897.
"Hamlet in Iceland," 1896.
Was general editor of "The King's Classics Library," 1905.

GOMPERTZ, ISAAC, poet, 1774-1856,
"June, or Light and Shade," poem in six parts, 1815.

"The Modern Antique, or the Muse in the Garb of Queen Anne," 1813.
"Devon," 1825.

GOMPERTZ, LEWIS, d. 1861,
"Moral Enquiries on the Situation of Men and Brutes," a work which resulted in the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1824.
Edited "Animals' Friend, or the Progress of Humanity."
"Mechanical Inventions and Suggestions on Land and Sea Locomotion."

GOODMAN, EDWARD J., b. 1836,
"Only Witness," 1891.
"Best Tours in Norway," 1892.
"Western Norway," 1893.
"Handbook for Norway," 1894.
"New Ground in Norway," 1896.

GOODMAN, TOBIAS,
Published the first English sermon preached in synagogue in England, 1819.
Was author of a number of religious works and translations, and of a pamphlet protesting against "The London Society for the promotion of Christianity among the Jews," in 1809.

GORDON, GERTRUDE,
"The Case and the Cure," 1901.

GORDON, SAMUEL, novelist and playwright, b. 1871.
"A Handful of Exotics," 1897.
"In Years of Transition," 1897.
"A Tale of Two Rings," 1898.
"Daughters of Shem," 1898.
"Lesser Destinies," 1899.
"Sons of the Covenant," 1900.
"The New Galatea," 1901.
"Strangers at the Gate," 1902.
"The Queen's Quandary," 1903.
"Unto Each Man His Own," 1904.
"The Ferry of Fate," 1906.

GREEN, JACOB T., b. 1862,
"Dramatic Criticism," 1900.
"Premieres of the Year," 1901.
"Twilight and Dark" (with A. W. Jarvis), 1890.

GUEDELLA, H.,
A translation of Prince San Donato Demidoff's "The Jewish Question in Russia."

GUINSBERG, ISIDOR,
"Chess Openings," 1895.
"The Games in the Steinitz-Lasker Championship Match," 1894.

GUTTENBERG, VIOLET,
"Neither Jew nor Greek," 1902.
"A Modern Exodus" (on the Alien Bill), 1904.
"The Power of the Psalmist," 1903.

HANAUER, J. E.,
"Folk-lore of the Holy Land, Moslem, Christian and Jewish," 1907.

HARRIS, SIR AUGUSTUS GLOSSOP, actor and playwright, (1852-1896),
Plays written, some in collaboration with Pitt and Hamilton,
"The World."
"Youth."
"Human Nature."
"A Run of Luck."
"The Spanish Armada."
"A Million of Money."
"The Prodigal Daughter."
"A Life of Pleasure."
"The Derby Winner."

HART, ERNEST A., physician and editor, 1836-1898,
"The Eternal Gullible," an expose of mesmerism and hypnotism, 1867.
"The Mosaic Code," an exposition of Pentateuchal sanitation, 1877.
Was editor of several magazines, and of
"Masters of Medicine," a medical biography,
Also contributor of many articles to leading magazines and periodicals, etc.

HARTOG, CECILE,
"Barbara's Song-book," 1900.

HARTOG, PHILIPPE JOSEPH, b. 1864,
Author of articles on chemists in the Dic. of Natl. Biog.
"Owens College," a history, at its jubilee, 1900.
"The Writing of English," 1907.

HENRY, EMMA, 1788-1870,
"Poems," 1812.

HENRY, MICHAEL, journalist and essayist, 1830-1875,
Editor of "Jewish Chronicle," 1868-75.
"Patent Law," a much commended work.
"Life Thoughts," a book of essays, 1875.
Also the writer of a number of poems.

HENRY, RE,
"Recitations and Prose Readings."
"Fast Friends," 1893.
"Queen of Beauty," 1894.
"Norah," 1899.

HENRIQUES, H. S. Q.,
"Jews and English Law," 1905.
"Law of Aliens and Naturalisation," 1906.
"Return of Jews to England," 1905.

HIRSCH, HENRY,
"A Brief Sketch of French History," 1901.

HIRSH, DR. S. A.,
"A Book of Essays," 1905.
"The Temple of Onias."
"Translation of a Mediaeval Commentary on the Book of Job," 1906.
"A Commentary on the Book of Job."

HIRSCHFELD, DR. HARTWIG, Orientalist,
"New Researches in Composition and Exegesis of Koran," 1901.
"Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters," 1892.
"Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Jews College Lib., 1902-3.
"English Translation of Jehudah Halevi's 'Kuzari.'"

HOFFER, L.,
"Chess," Lon., 1892.
Editor of "Chess Monthly," 1879-1896.

HORWITZ, BERNARD, chess expert, 1809-1885.
"Chess Studies," with J. Kling, Lon., 1851.
"The Chess Player," with J. Kling, 4 vols. 1851-53.
"Chess Studies and Games Systematically Arranged," 1884.

HURWITZ, HYMAN, 1770-1884,
"Hebrew Tales," 1826.

HYAMSON, A. M., b. 1875,
"The Newspaper-Readers' Companion," 1905.
"A Dictionary of Artists and Art Terms," 1906.
"A Dictionary of the Bible," 1906.
"Pros and Cons," with J. B. Askew, 1906.
"History of the Jews of England," 1908.

ISAACS, HYAMS,
"Forms and Ceremonies of the Jews," Lon., 1834.

*ISAACS, H.,
"Jews Awakening from their Slumbers," Lon., 1842.

ISAACS, NATHANIEL, traveller and explorer, 1808-1840,
"Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa," 1836.

JAFFE, FRANK,
"Ammon, Prince and Peasant," a trans. of Mapas' "Ahabat Ziyyon," Lon., 1887.

JACOBS, JOSEPH, b. 1854, journalist, essayist, historian and editor,
"Bibliography Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition," with L. Wolf, 1887.
"English Fairy Tales," 1890.
"Studies in Jewish Statistics," 1896.
"Celtic Fairy Tales," 1891.
"Indian Fairy Tales," 1892.
"Tennyson and In Memoriam," 1892.
"Jews of Angevin England," 1893.
"More English Fairy Tales," 1893.
"More Celtic Fairy Tales," 1894.
"Studies in Biblical Archaeology," 1894.
"Aesop's Fables," 1894.
"Literary Studies," 1895.
"Reynard the Fox," 1895.
"As Others Saw Him," 1895.
"Sources of the History of the Jews of Spain," 1895.
"Jewish Ideals," 1896.

"Wonder Voyages," 1896.
"Story of Geographical Discovery," 1897.
Translation, "Art of Worldly Wisdom," from the Spanish of Balthasar Bracian, 1892.
"Tales from Boccaccio," 1899.
Edited North's "Fables of Bidpai," 1887.
Caxton's "Aesop," 1889.
Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," 1891.
Howell's "Familiar Letters," 1892.
Day's "Daphne and Chloe," 1890.
Has also written introductions to a number of editions of English classics.

JACOBS, J. M.,
"An Adopted Cousin," a novel, 1905.

JESSEL, FREDERICK,
"Bibliography of Works in English on Playing Cards and Games," 1905.

"JEWISH EMANCIPATION," a poem by a Levite, 1829.

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND,
"Souvenir of the Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Whitehall Conference, 1665-1905," ed. Rev. S. Levy, 1905.

JONAS, MAURICE,
"Notes of an Art Collector," 1907.

JOSEPH LEONARD,
"What Are We?" a remarkably outspoken and startling work, 1906.

JOSEPH, REV. MORRIS,
"The Ideal in Judaism," 1893.
"Judaism as Creed and Life," 1903.
"The Prayer Book," 1905.
"Message of Judaism," 1906.

JOSEPH, N. S.,
"Religion Natural and Revealed," 1906.
"Essentials of Judaism," 1906.

JOUBERT, CARL,
"Russia as it Really Is," 1904.
"Fall of Tsardom," 1905.

"Truth about the Tsar," 1905.
"The White Hand," 1906.
"Tyranny of Fate," 1906.

KALISCH, MARCUS M., 1828-1885,
"An Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a new translation, of Exodus, 1856, Genesis, 1858, Leviticus, part I, 1867, part II, 1872.
"Bible Studies," 1877.
"Path and Goal," a discussion of the elements of civilization, the conditions of happiness, an opus magnum, 1879.

KIRALFY, BOLOSSY,
"Constantinople," 1894.
"The Orient," 1894.

KIRALFY, IMRE,
"Venice in London," 1892.
"Venice, the Bride of the Sea," 1892.
"America," 1893.
"India," 1895.
"Our Naval Victories," 1898.

KIRWAN, F. D.,
"Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin, etc.," 1807.

KINROSS, ALBERT,
"Fearsome Island," 1896.
"An Opera and Lady Grasmere," 1899.
"Game of Consequences," 1895.
"Early Stars," 1901.
"Within the Radius," 1901.
"The Way Back," 1903.
"Davenant," 1907.
"The Land of Every Man," 1907.

KLEIN, CHARLES, b. Lon., 1867, dramatist,
"A Mile a Minute."
"The District Attorney."
"El Capitan," the libretto.
"Dr. Belgraff."
"Heartsease."
"The Charlatan."
"Hon. John Grigsby."
"A Royal Rogue."

"The Auctioneer."
"Mr. Pickwick."
"The Music Master."
"The Lion and the Mouse."

KLEIN, HERMANN, b. 1856,
Musical critic on "The Examiner," "Sunday Times," the "Scotsman."
"Musical Notes," 1886-1889.
"Thirty Years of Musical Life in London," 1903.

KRAUSSE, ALEXIS S., 1859-1905,
"China in Decay," 1898.
"Far East," 1900.
"Russia in Asia," 1899.
"Story of the Chinese Crisis," 1900.

LANGDON, AMY H.,
"The Fairies' Jest," 1905.
"The Writing of English," with P. J. Hartog, 1907.

LANGE, M. REUBEN,
"Yseult, a Dramatic Poem," 1905.
"A Dream Cup and other Poems," 1906.

LASKER, EMANUEL,
"Common Sense in Chess," 1896.
Has edited chess journals and published several technical works on higher mathematics.

LAWRENCE, JOHN Z., a prominent surgeon, who published many volumes on surgery.

LAZARUS, HENRY B.,
"Rise and Spread of Slumland," 1892.
"English Revolution of the 20th Century," 1894.

LEE, ELIZABETH,
"The Humour of France," 1893.
"School History of England," 1896 and 1898.
"Britain over the Sea," 1901.
"Ethics and Moral Science," a trans., 1905.

LEE, SIDNEY, b. 1859.
Editor of "The National Dictionary of Biography," 1891-1901, Vols. XXVII-LXIII, the Supplement, Index and Epitome, under his sole editorship, the rest in conjunction.

"Lord Berner's Translation of Huon of Bordeaux, with introd. and appendices, 1883-5.
"Stratford on Avon from Earliest Times to the death of Shakespeare," 1885, new ed. 1906.
"Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiography, with a Continuation of his Life," 1886, new ed. 1906.
"Life of William Shakespeare," 1898.
"A Catalogue of Shakespeareana," 1899.
"Shakespeare's Handwriting," 1899.
"A Life of Queen Victoria," 1902.
"Shakespeare First Folio Facsimile, etc.," 1902.
"Alleged Vandalism at Stratford-on-Avon," 1903.
"Elizabethan Sonnets," 1904.
"Great Englishmen of the 16th Century," 1904.
"Shakespeare's Poems, and Pericles," 1905.
"Shakespeare and the Modern Stage," 1906.

LEITNER, GOTTLIEB WM., 1841-99, orientalist and linguist,
Ed. "Asiatic Quarterly Review."
Pub. a number of works on Indian subjects.

LEVETUS, A. S.,
"Imperial Vienna," 1904.

LEVETUS, CELIA MOSS, 1819-1873,
"Early Efforts," a book of poems, with her sister, Marion Moss, 1838.
"Romance of Jewish History," 1840.
"Tales of Jewish History," 1843.
"The King's Physician," 1873.
Founded the "Sabbath Journal," which had a brief existence.

LEVETUS, EDWARD L.,
"Verse Fancies," 1897.

*LEVI, LEONE, 1823-76,
"Commercial Law of the World," 1850.
"History of British Commerce, and of Economic Progress of the British Nation from 1863 to 1870," 1878.
"Taxation, how Raised and Expended," 1880.
"Work and Pay."
"War and its Consequences."

LEVISOHN, I.,
"Story of Wanderings in the Land of my Fathers," 1890.

LEVY, AMY, 1861-1899,
"The Minor Poet," 1882.
"Xantippe and other Poems," circa 1880, 3 vols.
"Romance of a Shop," 1886.
"Miss Meredith", 1886.
"Reuben Sachs," 1888.
"The Minor Poet and other Verse," 1891.
"Unhappy Princess," 1899.
"A London Plane Tree," posthumous.

LEVY, JOSEPH HYAM, b. 1838, economist and editor,
"The Individualist."
"Personal Rights."
"The Fall of Man," 1899.
"Short Studies in Economic Studies," 1903.
"Politics and Disease," with A. Goff, 1906.
Has been a prolific writer on social and politico-economic subjects.

*LEVY, MARK,
"As Englishman, Jew and Christian," 1898.

LEVY, REV. S., M. A., b. 1872.
"Original Virtues, and Other Short Studies," 1906.

LEWIS, HARRY S., b. 1861,
"The Jew in London," with E. J. Russell, 1900.
Ed. the Targemon, Isaiah I-V, with commentary, 1889.

LEWIS, LEOPOLD DAVIS, 1828-1890,
"Give a Dog a Bad Name," a drama, 1873.
"The Wandering Jew," a drama, 1873.
"The Foundling," a drama, 1881.
"A Peal of Merry Bells," a volume of short stories, 1880.
Trans. Erekmann-Chatrian's "Le Juif Polonais," as "The Bells," as played by Sir Henry Irving.

LIBER, M.,
"Rashi," a biography, 1906.

LINDO, ELIAS HAYIM, 1783-1865,
"History of the Jews of Spain, from earliest times to Final Expulsion," 1849.
Trans. "Conciliador" of Menasseh ben Israel, 1842.
Also translations of Hebrew Masterpieces, MS. in possession of Jews' College, Lon.
Compiled a Hebrew Calendar to run 64 years, 1832.

*LINDSAY, LADY,
"Godfrey's Quest."
"Poems of Love and Death."

LISSACK, MORRIS, 1844-1895,
"Jewish Perseverance, or the Jew at Home and Abroad," an autobiography with moral reflections, 1851.

LOEWY, BENJAMIN,
"Natural Science," 1891.

*LOW, SIDNEY J. M.,
"The Governance of England," 1904.
"A Vision of India," 1906.
"The Age of Victoria," with S. C. Saunders, 1907.

LOEWE, LOUIS, 1809-1888, orientalist,
"Origin of Egyptian Language," 1837.
A trans. of J. B. Levinsohn's "Efes Dammim," 1841.
A trans. of David Nieto's "Matte Dan," (awarded the York medal), 1842.
"Observations on a Unique Coptic Coin," 1849.
"A Dictionary of the Circassian Language," 1854.
"A Nubian Grammar," in MS.
"Biographies of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore."

LOEWY, ALBERT, b. 1816, orientalist, espec. in Sammaritan literature; ed. catalogue of Sammaritan MSS. of Earl of Crawford and Balcarries, pub. in "Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," 1875, the first specimen of current Aramaic dialect; which publication gave rise to a literature on the subject.
"Catalogue of the Hebraica and Judaica in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London," 1891.

LUCAS, MRS. HENRY,
"Songs of Zion," 1894.
"The Jewish Year," 1898.

LUMLEY, BENJAMIN, 1811-1875,
"Parliamentary Practise on Passing Private Bills," 1838, a standard work.

LYON, EMMA, see Mrs. Emma Henry.

LYONS, JOSEPH,
"The Master Crime," with Cecil Raleigh, 1907.

MABON, CHARLES B.,
A comprehensive essay on "The Jew in English Poetry and Drama," in Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. XI, 1899.

MAGNUS, LADY, b. 1844.
"Little Miriam's Bible Stories."
"Holiday Stories."
"About the Jews Since Bible Times," a history, 1881.
"Outlines of Jewish History," 1892.
"Boys of the Bible," 1894.
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MAGNUS, SIR PHILIP, educationist, b. 1842,
"Lessons in Elementary Mechanics," 1874 and 1892, a standard work for many years.
"Industrial Education," 1888.
"Elementary Solutions of Exercises," 1892.
Edited a series of text-books on education.

MAJOR, S.,
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MONTAGUE, E. R.,
A pseudonym, see M. A. Emanuel.

MONTAGUE, EDWIN S.,
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MONTAGUE, HYMAN, d. 1895, numismatist,
"Illustrated Catalogue of a Collection of Milled English Coins, dating from the Reign of George I. to that of Victoria," 1890.
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"The Way to Get Rich."
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MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE G., b. 1858.
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"Aspects of Judaism," with Israel Abrahams, 1894.
"The Bible for Home-Reading," 2 vols., 1896 and 1899.
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Assoc. editor of "The Jewish Quarterly Review," 1888-1908.

MONTEFIORE, SIR FRANCIS A., b. 1860,
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MONTEFIORE, LEONARD, 1853-1879,
"Essays on German Emancipation," (for which he struggled, and in behalf of which he met his death, like **Byron for** Greece).
"Literary Remains," pub. privately, 1880.

MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES, 1784-1885, and Lady, 1784-1862,
"Diaries from 1812 to 1883," pub. 1890.

MORTON, EDWARD, b. 1858, journalist and playwright,
"Travellers' Tales," 1892.
"Man and Beast," 1893.
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MOSCHELES, FELIX,
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MOSS, CELIA, see Levetus, Celia.

MYERHEIM, MAUD,
"Only a White Butterfly," 1892.

MYERS, ISIDORE,
"Gems from the Talmud," 1894.

NEUBERG, JOSEPH, 1806-1867, secretary and literary companion to Thomas Carlyle,
Trans. into German "On Heroes and Hero-Worship," and four vols. of "History of Frederick the Great."

NEUMAN, B. PAUL,
"The Greatness of Josiah Porlick."
"Pro Patria," a book of poems, 1907.

OPPENHEIM, DR. L.,
"International Law," 2 vols., 1905, has interesting reference to Jews as occupying international status.

*PALGRAVE, SIR FRANCIS COHEN, 1788-1861,
"Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," 1832.
"A History of Normandy and England," 4 vols., 1851-63.
Also made trans. of Homer's "Battle of the Frogs" into French, pub. Lon., 1796.

PHILLIPS, LAWRENCE B.,
"Dictionary of Biographical Reference," a valuable and much consulted work, five editions.

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2 vols. of literary essays, 1852 and 1854.
"The Guide" and "The Portrait Gallery," two vols. written for the Society of the Crystal Palace, of which he was literary director.

PRICE, JULIUS MENDES, artist, journalist and traveller, war correspondent for the Lon. "Illustrated News"; has illustrated his own works, mostly on travel,
"From Arctic Ocean to the Yellow Sea," 1892.
"The Land of Gold," 1895.
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RAFFALOWICH, MARK A.,
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RAPAPORT, REV. SAMUEL,
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RAPPOPORT, ANGELO S.,
"New Practical Method for Learning Russian," 1903, key to same, 1904.
"Primer of Philosophy," 1904.
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"English Drama," 1906.
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RAPHALL, MORRIS JACOB, b. 1798, lived in Eng. 1824-49,
Pub. of Hebrew Review and Magazine of Rabbinical Literature.
Essay on the "Literature of the Jews of Spain."
"Essay on the Social Conditions of the Jews," 1835-6.
"Festivals of the Lord, as celebrated by the House of Israel," 1840.
"Judaism Defended," 1840.
Pub. numerous other works after moving to America in 1850.

*RICARDO, DAVID, political economist, 1772-1823,
"High Price of Bullion," 1810.
"Observations on the Depreciation of Paper Currency," 1811.
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"The Funding System," 1820.
"On Protection to Agriculture."
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ROTHERSTEIN, WILL, b. 1872,
"English Portraits," 1897.
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"Liber Juniorum," 1897.
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ROTHSCHILD, ALONZO,
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"History and Literature of the Israelites," 2 vols., 1871.

ROTHSCHILD, BARON FERDINAND DE, 1839-1898,
"A Series of Lectures to Workingmen," pub. in Nineteenth Century.
"Personal Characteristics from French History," an interesting and able volume, 1896.

ROTHSCHILD, J. A. DE, b. 1878,
"Shakespeare and His Day," 1906.

ROTHSCHILD, HON. LIONEL WALTER, b. 1868.
"Avifauna of Saysan, and Birds of the Hawaian Possessions," 1893.
"Extinct Birds," 1907.

RUSSELL, HENRY, 1812-1900, composer and singer, composed 800 songs, among them,
"Ivy Green."
"Cheer, Boys, Cheer."
"A Life on the Ocean Wave."
"I'm Afloat."
"Some Love to Roam."
"To the West, to the West, to the Land of the Free."
An historical vol., "Memories of Men and Music," 1895.

SACHS, EDWIN O., b. 1870, a writer on matters of civic fire-safety,
"Urban Fire Protection," 1895.
"Modern Opera-Houses and Theaters," 1896.
"Fires and Public Entertainments," 1897.

"The Paris Bazaar Fire," 1897.
"What is Fire Protection?" 1897.
"Stage Construction," 1898.
"Fire Protection," 1898.
"Notes on the Fire Brigades and Appliances of Amsterdam," 1902.

SALAMAN, CHARLES K., 1814-1901,
"Jews as they Are," a history of Jewish emancipation, 1885.
Wrote also numerous articles in reply to controversial attacks, esp. to those of Bishop of Manchester, 1875, and Dean of Litchfield, 1877. Was also a musical composer of ability.

SALAMAN, CHARLES MALCOLM, b. 1855, son of the above, journalist and dramatist, also wrote verses to many of his father's songs,
"Deceivers Ever," a comedy.
"Boycotted," a comedy.
"Dimity's Dilemma," a farce.
"Both Sides of the Question," a comedy.
"A Modern Eve."
Has edited Pinero's plays, and written,
"Ivan's Lovequest and Other Poems," 1879.
"Woman, Thro' a Man's Eyeglass," 1892.
"Old Engravers of England in their Relation to Contemporary Life and Art," 1906.

SALAMAN, CLEMENT,
"Britain's Glory," with Wm. C. Hall, 1896.

SALAMONS, ANNETTE A., d. 1879,
"Aunt Annette's Stories to Ada," 4 vols., 1879.

SALOMONS, SIR DAVID, 1797-1873, a bold political and financial writer and publicist.
"A Defense of Joint Stock Banks," 1837.
"Monetary Difficulties of America," 1837.
"An Account of the Persecution of the Jews at Damascus," 1840.
"The Case of David Salomons," a notable contribution in the struggle for Jewish Emancipation, 1844.
"Parliamentary Oaths," 1850.
"Alteration of Oaths," 1853.

SAMUEL, HERBERT, b. 1870,
"Liberalism, its Principles and Proposals," 1902.

SAMUEL, MOSES, 1795-1860,
"Address to the Missionaries of Great Britain," Liverpool.
"On the Position of the Jews in Great Britain."
"The Jew and the Barrister."
Ed. "The Cup of Salvation," a monthly magazine, and made some translations of works in Hebrew and German.

SAMUEL, SYDNEY MONTAGUE, 1848-1884,
"Jewish Life in the East," a book of Oriental travel.
"A Quiet Pipe," a comedy, produced at Folly Theatre, 1880.
Wrote Eng. libretto of "Piccolino."
Trans. "La Lyre et la Harpe," in Eng. verse, and wrote also graceful original verse.

SCHECTER, SOLOMON, b. 1847,
"Studies in Judaism," 1896.
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"The Wisdom of Ben Sirah," ed. with C. Taylor, 1899.

SCHLOSS, DAVID F., b. 1850,
"Methods of International Remuneration," 1892.

SCHNURMAN, NESTOR IVAN, educationist, came to Eng. 1880,
"The Russian Manual," 1888.
"Aid to Russian Composition," 1888.
"Russian Reader," 1891.

SCHWARZENBERG, F. A.,
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SCRIBE, ENOCH,
A nom de plume, see Cohen, Israel.

*SICHEL, EDITH,
"Worthington Junior," 1893.
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"Household of the Lafayettes," 1897.
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*SICHEL, WALTER SYDNEY,
"Bolingbroke and His Times," 1901.
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"Disraeli," 1904.
"Emma, Lady Hamilton," 1905.

SIDGWICK, MRS. ALFRED, novelist.
"Scenes of Jewish Life."
"The Beryl Stones."
"The Thousand Eugenias."
"The Inner Shrine."
"The Grasshoppers."
"Cynthia's Way."
"A Woman with a Future."
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SILVERSTON, CYRIL,
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SIMEON, C.,
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SIMON, OSWALD J.,
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SIMON, LADY, 1823-1899.
"Readings and Reflections," selections from writings of a half century.
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SONNENSCHEIN, W. SWAN,
"Shakesperean Quotations," 1906.

SPIELMAN, MABEL H.,
"Biography of Kate Greenaway," 1905.
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SPIELMAN, MARION H., b. 1858. author and art critic,
"Henriette Ronner," 1891.
"History of Punch," 1895.

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"Art of John MacWhirter," 1904.

SPIESS, BERNARD, d. 1900,
"The School System of the Talmud," 1898.

STRAUS, G. L. M., 1807-1887,
"Mahometanism," 1853.
"Practical Aids to the Study of National History," from the German of Dr. C. Arendts, 1861.
"England's Workshops," in collab. with others, 1863.
"The Old Ledger," a novel, 3 vols., 1865.
Also pub. a number of French and German grammars, 1852-3.
"Men Who Have Made the German Empire," 2 vols., Lon., 1874.
"The Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian," 2 vols., Lon., 1882.
"Stories ot an Old Bohemian," 1883.
"Philosophy in the Kitchen," 1885.
"The Emperor William," 1887.

STRAUS, RALPH,
"The Man Apart," 1906.
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SUTRO, ALFRED, dramatist,
"The Chili Widow," 1896.
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"A Maker of Men," 1905.
"The Perfect Lover," 1906.
"The Man on the Kerb," 1907.

SYLVESTER, JOSEPH JAMES, 1814-1897, mathematician, Prof. of Math. in the Un. of Va., and Johns Hopkins Un.,
Ed. "Journal of Mathematics."
"Laws of Verse," 1870.
Also a prolific writer on scientific subjects.

TRIETSCH, DAVID,
"A Handbook of Palestine," 1907.

VAMBERY, ARMINUS, b. Hungary, 1833, now living in Lon., orientalist, traveller and author, has written many vols. in foreign languages; in English,
"The Coming Struggle for India," Lon., 1885.
"Arminius Vambery, His Life and Adventures," Lon., 1904.
"Struggles of My Life," Lon., 1904.
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VANDAM, ALBERT D.,
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VAN OVEN, JOSHUA, 1776-1838,
"Letters on Present State of the Jewish Poor in the Metropolis."
"A Manual of Judaism," and a number of works on Jewish and medical topics.

VAN PRAAGH, WILLIAM, b. 1845, pioneer of lip-reading for deaf-mutes,
"Plan for the Establishment of Day Schools for the Deaf and Dumb," 1871.
"Lip-reading for the Deaf," 6th edition, 1900.
"Lessons for the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children, etc.," 1884.
A number of papers and essays on medical and related topics.

VOGEL, SIR JULIUS, 1835-1899,
"Anno Domini, 2000," 1890.

VON RAALTE, CHARLES, 1857-1908,
"Brownsea Island," 1906.

WALDSTEIN, CHARLES, b. 1856, archaeologist and Prof. of Fine Arts in the Un. of Cambridge,
"Essays on the Art of Phidias," 1885.
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WALEY, SIMON W., 1827-1875,
"A Tour of Auvergne," a series of travel-letters to "The Daily News," afterward incorporated in "Murray's Handbook of France."
Was also composer and song-writer, among his songs are,
"Sing On Ye Little Birds."
"The Home of Early Love."
"Alpine Shepherd's Song."

WALLACH, HENRY,
"West African Manual," 1901.

WINER, HAROLD M.,
"Studies in Biblical Law," 1904.

WANDERER,
A pseudonym, see Avigdor.

*WOLFF, DR. JOSEPH, 1795-1862, oriental traveller,
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"Cooperative Credit Banks," 1898.

WOLF, LUCIEN, b. 1857, editor, journalist and historian,
Editorial writer for "Public Leader" and "Daily Graphic," Lon. correspondent of "Le Journal," of Paris, under pen-name of "Diplomaticus" has written many valuable papers for "Fortnightly Review."
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WOOLF, BELLA SYDNEY, novelist,
"Jerry's Joe," 1897.
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ZAMENHOF, LAZARUS L., founder of Esperanto, the universal language, trans. "Hamlet" into Esperanto.

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL, b. 1864,
"Premier and the Painter," with L. Cowen, 1881.
"Bachelors' Club," 1891.
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"Big Bow Mystery," 1891.
"Children of the Ghetto," 1892.
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ZANGWILL, LOUIS, bro. of Israel, b. 1869,
"A Drama in Dutch," 1895.
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ZEDNER, JOSEPH, 1804-1871,
Librarian of the Heb. dept. of the British Museum, 1845-1869, Wrote numerous works in German; in English,
"Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum," 1867.
Co-ed. of Asher's edition of "The Travels of Benjamin of Tudela."

INDEX.

AARON, 65.
Abbott, G. F., 148-9.
Abednego, 121.
Abel, Dugger, 92.
Abigail, 63-6, 81.
Abraham of Bristol, 38.
Abraham, Philip, 191.
Abrahams, Israel, 12, 15, 187.
Addison, Joseph, 13, 96, 108, 109.
Addison, Rev. Lancelot, 96.
Adler, Elkan N., 191.
Adler, Chief Rabbi Herman, 196.
Aflalo, F. G., 195.
Aguilar, Grace, 12, 29, 161-3.
Alcharisi, 131, 134.
"Alchemist, The," 92.
Alfange, Ibn, 26.
Alien Immigration Act, 48, 148, 182.
Allen, John, 149.
Almeida, Manuela Nunes de, 112.
Alphonsus, Petrus, 26.
"Alroy, David," 171-2.
Amberly, Viscount, 24.
"Anglia Judaica," 18, 110.
Anglo-Israelism, 31.
Anglo-Jewish Exhibition, 30.
"Antiquities of the Jews, etc., The," 149.
"Appeal to the Throne against Naturalisation of the Jewish Nation, etc.," quoted, 103-4, 118.
Argens, Marquis D', 111.
Arnall, W., 102.
Arnold, Mathew, 144.
Arthurian Cycle, Hebrew Version of, 28.
"Aspects of Greek Genius," quoted, 16.

BACON, ROGER, 15.
Ballin, Ada S., 195.
Barabas, 20, 22, 56, 62-6, 83, 84, 91, 107.
Barlow, Thomas, 88, 89.
Barnett, C. Z., 156.
Barnett, Lionel D., 195.
Barrows, E. P., 149.
Baruch, Valentin, 26.
Beaconsfield, see D'Israeli, Benjamin.
Beaulieu, Anatole L., 149.
Beaumont, Francis, 90-91.
Bede's Ecclesiastical History, 49.
Belasco, David, footnote, 158.
Belmonte, Bienvenida Cohen, 112.
Bell, J. Freeman, 176.
"Bells, The," 156.
Ben Jonson, 62, 90, 92.
"Ben Karshook's Wisdom," 143.
Benedictus, le Puncteur, 59.
Benham, Arthur, 157.

"Benita," 138.
Benjamin, Judah P., 195.
Benjamin, Lewis S., 190.
Bensusan, S. L., 190.
Besant, Walter, 134.
Bible, The, 13, 15, 17, 24, 42.
  Jews of, 9, 54.
  translations of, 5.
Blackmore, Richard D., 108.
Blood Accusation, 35.
Blunt, John E., 145.
"Borough," 141.
Box, Rev. Geo. H., 150.
Bravo, Abraham, 112.
"Broken Playthings," 136.
Brown, Wm., 149.
Browning, Robert, 24, 59, 142-44, 186.
Bulwer-Lytton, Edw., 135.
Burns, Robert, 141.
Bury St. Edmunds, 36, 37.
Busher, Leonard, 86.
Butcher, Prof., 16.
Butler, Samuel, 97.
Buzaglo, Abraham, 116.
"By Order of the Czar," 136.
Byron, Lord George, 24, 117, 139, 140, 196.

CAINE, HALL, 137.
Canterbury Tales, 12, 20, 53.
Carlisle, Thomas, 194.
Cartwright, Joanna, 43.
"Case of the Lawfulness of the Toleration of the Jews, The," quoted, 88.
Caursini, 77.
Charles I., King of England, 90.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 20, 53.
Cheltman, 122.
Chess, 196.
"Children of the Ghetto, The," 176, 178.
Chilmead, Edmund, 96.
Christian attitude toward the Jews, 129.
"Chronicle of the Cid," 25.
Church, The, 19.
  and usury, 76-7.
Cibber, Colley, 108.
"Circle, The," quoted, 136.
"Claims of the Jews incompatible, etc.," 119.
"Codlingsby," 126.
Cohen, Baruch, 137.
Cohen, Ezra, 130.
Coleridge, Samuel T., 24, 139, 140.
Coley, John, 110.
Collier, Jeremy, 109.
"Complaints of the Children of Israel concerning the Penal Laws, etc.," quoted, 102-3.
Comte Lyonnais, Palanus, 26.
"Conciliador," 100.
"Conference between a Protestant and a Jew, A," 98.
"Conference betwixt a Papist and a Jew, A," 98.
"Confutation of the Reasons, etc.," 101.
Congreve, William, 108, 115.
"Coningsby," quoted, 171, 174.
Conversions to Christianity, 28-29.
Corelli, Marie, 137.
Coryat, Thos., 18, 94, 95.
Costa, Emanuel M. da, 115.

Courlander, Alphonse, 190.
Cowen, Lewis, 175.
Cowley, Abraham, 96.
Crabbe, George, 141.
Craigie, Mrs., 137.
"Crimes of Cabinets," 153.
Croly, Rev. Geo., 119, 137.
Cromwell, Oliver, 42, 43, 44, 45, 100.
"Cross Triumphant, The," 150.
Crowne, John, 93.
"Crudities," 18, 94.
Crusades, The, 30, 33, 36.
Crypto-Jews, 42, 44, 68, 98.
Cumberland, Richard, 22, 107-8, 121.
"Curiosities of Judaism," 191.
"Custom of the Country, The," 91.

DALY, 122.
Danby, Frank, 165.
Darmesteter, James, 195.
Davis, James, 156.
Davis, Nina, 160.
Davit, Michael, 149.
"Day of Atonement, The," 97.
Defoe, Daniel, 109.
Dekker, Thomas, 90, 92.
Deronda, Daniel, 12, 22, 129-135, appendix to Chap. VII, p. 151.
"Destruction of Jerusalem, The," 93.
Deutsch, Emanuel, 195.
"Devil's Law Case, The," 92.
"Diary" (Pepys'), 96.
Dibdin, Charles, 108, 121.
Dickens, Charles, 108, 127-9, 165, 176.
"Disciplina Clericalis," 26.
"Discourses on Oliver Cromwell," 97.
D'Israeli, Isaac, 166-9.
D'Israeli, Benjamin, 12, 28, 169-74.
  baptism of, 168-9.
  Jewishness of, 172.
Domus Conversorum, 41.
"Double Marriage," 91.
Draper, John W., 24, 146.
"Duenna," 106.
Du Maurier, Geo., 123, 136.
Dury, John, 89.

EDGEWORTH, MARIA, 21, 123.
Edward I., 40-41.
Egan, Charles, 120, 145.
Elchanan ben Isaac, 60.
Eliot, George, 129-135, 140, 164.
Elizabethan drama, 56.
  era, Chapter IV., 121.
Elizabeth, Queen, 69, 90.
Elvirah, Madame, 134-5.
Elvirah, Manuel, 135.
Emanuel, Walter L., 189.
"Engagement of Convenience, An," 182.
England, 15, 20.
  expulsion of Jews from, 20, 41, 55.
  liberal policy of, 174.
  readmission of Jews into, 86, 95.
  usury in, 76.
"English Religious Drama, The," quoted, 55, 57.
"Essay on Man," 17, 109.
"Essay on the Commercial Habits of Jews," 119.

Euphron, 119.
"Every Woman in her Humour," 91.
Ezra, Abraham Ibn, 25, 59, 142.
Ezra, Moses Ibn, 25.

FAGIN, 12, 23, 108, 127-8.
"Faithful Mirror of Life, A," 112.
Farjeon, Benjamin L., 165.
"Farmer George," 190.
Fenton, Elijah, 106.
Fernandez, Benj. D., 112.
Fielding, Henry, 17.
"Fillipo Baldinucci," 143.
Fiorentino, Giovanni, 70-1.
"First Part of Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, etc.," 61.
Fletcher, John, 90, 91, 92.
"For King or Empress?" 138.
Ford, John, 90.
"Foreign Debt of English Literature, The," quoted, 14.
Frankau, Julia, 165.
Frederic, Harold, 149.

GABIROL, SALOMON, IBN, 25.
Gaster, Dr. Moses, 196.
Gay, John, 108, 159.
Germany, 26, 27.
Gerard, Dorothea, 136.
"Gesta Romanorum," 31.
Gladstone, Wm. E., 23, 118.
Glapthorne, Henry, 93.
Gloucester, 36.
Golden Age, of English Literature, 61.
of Jewish literature, 25, 167.
Goldsmith, Sir Francis H., 154.
Goldsmith, Lewis, 153.
Goldsmith, Oliver, 135.
Gallancz, Prof. Israel, 12, 183, 184.
Gomez, Antonio Enriques, 26.
Gompertz, Isaac, 158-9.
Gordon, Samuel, 175, 179-81.
Gosson Stephen, 61.
Graetz, Dr. H., quoted, 71.
Grahame, Winfred, 136.
Grant, Richard, 23.
Gratz, Rebecca, 126.
Greene, Robert, 61.
Guttenburg, Violet, 181, 182.

HAGGARD, H. RIDER, 138.
Halevi, Jehuda, 25.
Hall, Owen, 156.
Hallam, Henry, 24, 96.
Hamlet, 71, 84.
"Hamlet," 17, 195.
"Harrington," quoted, 21, 123.
Harris, Sir Augustus, 156.
Hartlib, Samuel, 89.
Hartog, Mrs. Marion M., 159.
Hatton, Jos., 136.
"Haunch of Venison, The," 135.
Hazlitt, Wm., 23, 120.
Headlam, C., 189.
Hebraic Spirit, The, 16, 17 (footnote), 31, 42, 161.
"Hebraisms in the Authorized Version of the Bible," quoted, 13.
"Hebrew Life and Thought," 150.
"Hebrew Melodies," 140-41.
Hebrew Thought and Ideals, 14.
Hellenic Spirit, The, 16, 17, 161.

Henninge, Wm., 93.
Henriques, H. S. Q., 195.
Henry, Mrs. Emma L., 159.
Henry I., 35.
Henry II., 36.
Henry III., 38, 39.
"Henry IV., Part I.," 85.
Henslowe's "Diary," 70.
Hirsh, Dr. S. A., 15 (*footnote*).
"Historia Major," 51.
"Historia Rerum Anglicarum," 50.
"History and Antiquities of the Exchequers of the Kings of England," 110.
"History and Philosophy of Judaism," 110.
"History of Greate Britaine, The," 95.
"History of Rationalism in Europe," quoted, 146-8.
"History of the Inquisition of Spain," quoted, 146.
"History of the Jews," 145.
"History of the Jews of Damascus," 155.
"History of the Rites, Customs, etc., of the Jews," 96.
Hoffer, L., 197.
Holinshed, Ralph, 20.
"Hollander, The," 92.
Honigman, quoted, 75.
"Hope of Israel," 99.
Horwitz, Bernard, 197.
Houghton, Louise S., 150.
"Hudibras," 97.
Hugh, Little St., of Lincoln, 20, 38-40, 51, 186.
Humourous element in opposition to Jews, 104.
Hugo, Victor, quoted, 75.
Hurwitz, Hyman, 140, 155.
Hyamson, Albert M., 190.

IAGO, 76.
"Il Pecorone," 70, 80.
"Improbable Idyl," 136.
"In Memoriam," 17, quoted, 28, 186.
Inquisition, Spanish, 25, 146.
"Insatiate Countess, The," 91.
Inter-Marriage, 136, 180.
Irving, Sir Henry, 156.
Irving, Washington, 126.
Isaac of York, 124.
"Israel among the Nations," 149.
"Israel in Europe," 148.
"It is Never too Late to Mend," 135.
"Ivanhoe," 22, 122, 123-6.

JACOB, RABBI, OF ORLEANS, 60.
Jacobs, Dr. Joseph, 12, 185-7.
James, King of England, 90.
Jerrold, Douglas, 122.
"Jerusalem Infirmary, etc., The," 106.
Jessey, Henry, 88.
Jessica, 80-82, 125-6.
Jesus of Nazareth, 19, 57-8, 187.
"Jew, The," 22, 28, 107-8.
"Jew and the Doctor, The," 108, 121.
Jew badge, The, 38, 144.
"Jew Bill," The Pelhams', 21, 46, 101-105, 112.
"Jew of Venice, The," 92, 106.
"Jew of Mogador, The," 108, 121.

"Jew Showne at the Bull, The," 61.
Jewish Authors in Pre-Elizabethan Era, 24.
in 17th century, 24.
in 18th century, 24.
in Spain, 25.
"Jewish Ideals and Other Essays," quoted, 31, 38-40.
"Jewish Family, A," 139-40.
"Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," quoted, 15, 25.
"Jewish Literature and Other Essays," quoted, 25.
"Jewish Maiden's Wrong, The," 122.
Jewish Question, The, 135.
"Jewish Spy, The," 110-11.
"Jewish Year, The," 161.
Jews, accusations against, 66.
as money-lenders, 77.
civic emancipation of, 26, 45-48, 118-121, 153.
expulsion of, from England, 20, 55.
family ties among, 63, 81.
in England, Chap. II.
in medical profession, 77.
mental vigor of, 27, 135, 153.
persecutions of, 135, 148.
Spanish—Portuguese, 167.
"Jew's Daughter, The," 52.
"Jews in Many Lands," 191.
"Jew's Tragedy, The," 93.
"Jochanan Hakadosh," 142, 143.
John, King of England, 38.
John of Lexington, 39.
Johnson, Samuel, 17, 166.
Jones, Henry A., 123.
Josce, or Joseph, Rabbi, 35.
Joseph, Rev. Morris, 196.
Joubert, Carl, 192-3.
"Judah Lewellyn," 123.

KALISCH, M. M., 194.
Kaufmann, Prof., 164.
Keary, C. F., 136.
Keats, John, 117.
Kimchi, David, 15, 25.
"King John," 76.
Kingsley, Florence M., 150.
Kinrors, Albert, 190.
Kipling, Rudyard, 17, 137.
Kirwan, F. D., 154.
Klein, Charles, 157-8.
Klesmer, 133.
Knowles, Sheridan, 122.

LAGUNA, DANIEL, I. L., 112.
Lange, Reuben M., 161.
Langland, William, 53.
Lansdowne, Lord, 106.
Lasker, Emanuel, 197.
Lea, Dr. H. C., 146.
"Leah, the Forsaken," 122.
"Lear," 17, 84.
Lecky, Wm. E. H., 24, 146, 149.
Lee, Sidney, 12, 65, 68, 183-4.
Lemoine, Henry, 114.
Leoni, Myer, 107.
"Letter Concerning Toleration, A," 98.
"Letters to the Jews," 113.
Levi, David, 113-4.
Levison, G., 115.
Levy, Amy, 159.
Levy, Joseph H., 194.
Lewis, Leopold, 156.

Lewes, Geo. Henry, appendix to Chap. VII., 151.
"Limb, The," 135.
Lincoln, Little St. Hugh of, 20, 38-40, 51, 53.
"Lion and the Mouse, The," 157-8.
Locke, John, 98.
Lopez, Roderigo, 42, 61, 62, 68-70, 91, 92, 184.
Lost Ten Tribes, 31, 99.
"Lothair," 174.
"Love's Labour Lost," 85.
Löwenthal, J. J., 197.
Lucas, Mrs. Henry, 160-1.
Lyon, Emma, 159.

MACAULAY, THOMAS, B., 23, 119, 120, 149.
"Macbeth," 17, 28, 76 85, 196.
Macklin, Charles, 73.
Madox, Thomas, 110.
Magnus, Lady Katie, 163-4.
Magnus, Laurie, 189.
"Maid of Honour, The," 92.
Maimon, Moses ben, 25.
"Malcontent, The," 91.
Malebys, Richard, 37.
"Man and Superman," 123.
Mansion House Meeting, 48, 185.
Margoliouth, Rev. M., 191.
"Mariamne, or the Unhappy Loves of Herod and Mariamne," 106.
Marlowe, Christopher, 20, 61, 62, 83, 84.
Marston, John, 91.
Massinger, Philip, 90, 92.
Megnell, Wilfred, 173.
Meir ben Elias, 60.
"Melting Pot, The," 179.
Melville, G. W., 138.
Melville, Lewis, 190.
"Memoir of the Origin of the Jews in England," 110.
Menasseh ben Israel, 44, 99-100.
Mendez, Moses, 114.
Mendoza, Isaac, 106.
"Merely Mary Ann," 178.
"Merchant of Venice, The," 56, 62, 66-84, 105.
"Merchant of Venice Preserved," 121.
Messianic ideal of Jews, 133.
Meyer, Jacob, 138.
Middleton, Thos., 92.
"Midsummer Night's Dream," 84, 85.
Millenarians, 99.
Milman, Dean Henry, 18, 145.
Milton, John, 31, 89.
Mirah, 130, 131, 134.
"Mishle Shu'alim," 59.
Mocatta, Frederic D., 191.
Modena, Leo, 96.
Montague, Lily, 181, 182.
Montague, Samuel Sydney, 191.
Montefiore, Charlotte, 163.
Montefiore, Claude, 187.
Montezinos, Antonio de, 99.
Moorish Occupation of Spain, 25, 167.
Mordecai, 22, 23, 130, 132-5, original of, appendix to Chap. VII., p. 151.
Moss, Cecile, 159.
"Mourning Bride, The," 116.
"Much Ado About Nothing," 85.

"Music Master, The," 157.
"My Novel," 135.
Mystery Plays, 18, 19, 54.

NAPOLEON, 153.
Nassi, Joseph, 63.
Nathan, Isaac, 140.
"Neither Jew nor Greek," 182.
Neuberg, Joseph, 194.
"New Exodus, The," 149.
Nicholas, Edward, 88.
Nieto, Rev. David H., 112.
Norwood, Captain, 87.

OESTERLY, REV. W., 150.
"Oh, Weep for Those," 140.
"Oliver Twist," 108, 122, 127-8.
Othello, 84.
"Our Mutual Friend," 108, 128-9.
Oxford, 34, 35, 59.

PACH, 131.
Palgrave, Sir Francis C., 190.
"Paradise Lost," 17, 31.
Paris, Mathew, 20, 51.
Pepys, Samuel A., 96.
Perez, Antonio, 68-9.
Peters, Hugh, 43, 87.
Petition of Jews to Cromwell, text given in footnote, 45.
Phillips, Samuel, 164-5.
Picciotto, James, 190.
Pimentel, Abraham J. H., 112.
Pimental, Sara de Fonesca Pinay, 112.
Piot, Lazarus, 62.
"Play of the Sacrament, The," 56.
Pope, Alexander, 17, 73, 103, 159.
"Present State of the Jews, etc., The," 96.
Priestly, Dr. Joseph, 113-4.
Prior, Matthew, 109.
"Prisoner of War," 122.
"Prophet, The," 97.
"Proposals for the Propagation of the Gospels," 87.
Prynne, William, 21, 89-90, 99, 110, 118.
Puritan Reformation, 86 93.

"RABBI BEN EZRA," 142.
"Rabbi's Lamentation on the Repeal, etc.," 105.
Ram, 130.
"Rape of the Lock," 109.
Rawnsley, Canon, 144.
Reade, Charles, 135.
"Reasons for Naturalising the Jews, etc.," 101.
Rebecca, 12, 22, 23, 125-6, 127.
"Rebecca and Rowena," 126.
"Rebel Queen, The," 134.
"Recessional," 17.
Rede, Leman, 122.
"Religious Peace," 86.
"Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews," 154.
"Reply to the Arguments against the Enfranchisement of the Jews, A," 154.
Revolutions, American and French, 26, 117.
Riah, 108, 128.
Ricardo, David, 194.
"Rich Jew of Malta, The," 56, 62-6, 81, 83, 122.

Richard I., 20, 36, 60, 95.
"Richard III.," 17, 76, 84.
Ritual Murder, 20, 35.
Robinson, Rev. John T., 119.
Rogers, Samuel, 28, 168.
Rosenau, Dr. William, 13.
Rothschild, Baron, 47.
Rowley, Wm., 92.
Russell, Lord John, 23, 118.
Russell, Henry, 194.
Russian Persecution of Jews, 48, 149, 174, 185.

"SABBATH EPISTLE," 59.
Sadler, John, 87.
Salaman, Charles M., 157, 192.
Salaman, Mrs. R. N., 160.
Salamon, Charles K., 191.
"Salathiel," 137-8.
Salomons, Sir David, 47, 154, 155.
Salarino, 79, 80.
Sanhedrin of Paris, 154.
Santob, Rabbi Don, 25.
Schomberg, Alexander, 115.
Schomberg, Ralph, 115.
"School for Prejudice, The," 108, 121.
"School for Scandal, The," 107.
"Scornful Lady, The," 91.
Scott, Sir Walter, 117, 123-6, 141.
Selden, John, 96.
Sephardi, Moses, 26.
Shakespeare, William, 16, 20, 63, 90, 93, 127, 183.
Shaw, Duncan, 110.
Shaw, G. Bernard, 123.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 117, 139. 140.
Sheridan, Richard B., 106-7.
Sheva, 12, 22, 23, 107-8, 121.
Shiel, Mathew, 137.
Shirley, James, 90.
"Short Demurrer to the Jewes, long continued Remitter, etc.," quoted (*footnote*), 34, 89-90, 110, 115.
"Shortest Way with Dissenters, The," 109.
Shylock, 12, 22, 42, 56, 67-84, 91, 106, 107, 124, 128.
  originally a Christian, 67, 70.
Sichel, Walter, 173.
"Sicilian Summer, A," 122.
Sidgwick, Mrs. Alfred, 181.
Sidonia, 170, 171.
Simon, Oswald John, 192.
"Skeleton Witness, The," 122.
Skene, Mrs., 123.
Smith, Horace, 137.
Smollett, F. G., 17.
"Sons of the Covenant," 180.
Spain, expulsion of Jews from, 42, 68.
  feeling against, 69.
  inquisition of, 25, 146.
  Moorish occupation of, 25.
Spectator, The, quoted, 13, 109.
Speed, John, 20, footnote 36, 95.
Spencer, John, 96.
Spielman, Marion H., 188.
Spinoza, Baruch, 132, appendix to Chap. VII., 151.
"Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer-book, The," 150.

St. Louis of France, 77.
"Status of the Jews in England," 120, 145.
"Statutum de Judaismo," 40.
Steele, Richard, 108.
Stern, Phillip, 115.
Stephen, King of England, 35, 138.
Sutro, Alfred, 158.
Svengali, 123, 136.
Swinbourne, A., 144.
Süsskind of Trimberg, 25.
Sylvester, Joseph J., 194.

TALFOURD, FRANK, 121.
"Tancred," 170.
Tang, Abraham, 116.
"Tarry Thou till I Come," see footnote, 137.
Taylor, Sir Henry, 122.
"Tempest, The," 195.
Tennyson, Alfred, 17, 28, 142, 184, 186.
Thackeray, Wm. M., 125, 126.
"Three Ladies of London, The," 61.
Thurston, Katherine C., 135.
"Titus Andronicus," 65.
Tovey, Dr. de Blossiers, 18, 110.
"Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin, etc.," 154.
Translations, into Hebrew, 28.
"Trilby," 123, 136.
Tucker, Dr. T. G., 14.
"Two Gentlemen of Verona," 84.

UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES, 30.
Usque, Samuel, 26.
Usury, 40, 76-8.

VAMBERY, ARMINIUS, 193.
Van Oven, Abraham, 115.
Van Oven, Dr. Barnard, 154, 155.
Van Praagh, Dr. Wm., 195.
"Vindiciae Judaeorum," 99.
"Vision of Piers the Plowman," 53.
"Vittoria Corrombona," 92.

WARFIELD, DAVID, footnote, 158.
Webb, Mrs. J. B., 138.
Webster, John, 90, 92.
Whately, Dr. Richard, 23, 119, 120.
Whistler, Charles, 138.
White, Wm. H., 137.
Wife of Shylock, 81-2.
William of Newbury, 20, 50.
William of Norwich, 35, 36, 138.
William the Conqueror, 33-4, 117.
Williams, Roger, 43, 87.
Wilson, Robert, 61.
"Within the Pale," 149.
Wolf, Lucien, 188.
"Women Pleased," 92.
Woolf, Bella Sidney, 181, 182.
Wordsworth, Wm., 24, 117, 139-40.
"World Tost at Tennis, The," 92.

"XANTIPPE," 159.

"YESOD MOREH," 59.
York, the Massacre of 20, 37, 50-1.
"Ysopet" of Marie of France, 60, footnote.
ZABULON, 91.
Zamenhof, L. L., 195.
Zangwill, Israel, 12, 29, 175-79.
Zangwill, Louis, 181.
"Zillah, a Tale of the Holy City," 137.